

KPM/SB/02310/05

2310

West Bengal Form No. 11

200

Collection No .....

S.B. File No. S-640/45

Serial No. 1945

SUBJECT

Search of 25, Nilmoni Mitra Street.  
on 15-6-45 (Property seized)

Government of West Bengal

OFFICE OF .....

DEPARTMENT OR GROUP

BRANCH

LIST OF PAPERS

Serial No. in file	From or to whom	Number	Date	Number of Pages	Class of Paper
26					

Index and Carded (with dates).

Street indexed up to p. 42 Newley  
 called up to p. 43 by 4/7/45  
 Street indexed up to p. 68 Newley  
 called up to p. 69 by 10/9/45  
 Street indexed up to p. 80 Newley  
 called up to p. 80 by 23/9/45

Index to file no S. 640/45.

14, 17,

C.D.

Address - 25, Niluani Mitra Street, Cal.  
searched on 15.8.45. Property Seized  
C.S.P. in connection with the arrest of  
Abul Krishna Khan.

35,

C.D.

- 17/B, Ganga Prasad Mukherjee. The  
place of Ganga Prasad Mukherjee of C.S.P.

61,

C.D.

House of Af Ali - C.S.P. w/o Af Ali  
Bar-at-law.

63,

C.D.

Acharya, Ramesh - member Anushilan Samiti.  
S/o Late Kali Prasanna of Anulapara,  
Narayanganj, Dacca.

64,

Abdulla, Raoul - of Bandwan.

C 3.

Baner. Atul Krishna (37) S/o Kali Heridas  
Babu of Vill. Ghatshila, P.S.  
Ghatshila, Dt. Singhbhum (Bihar)  
c/o 25, Nilmoni Mitra Street,  
Calcutta c/o Chitra, Srirampur,  
Hooghly. Statement Pages 10-5  
c/o 10, Simpaipara Lane, Paikpara. Statement  
Pages 65-59.

1, 2, 3, 10, 14, 16, 22,  
23, 52, 54, 65,

C 3

Banerji, Satyen - S/o Shibnath Banerji  
M.L.A. of Howrah of 3/1, Kali Banerji  
Lane, Howrah.

7, 36, 38, 59, 60,

C 3

Banerji, Shibnath - M.L.A. of 3/1, Kali Banerji  
Lane, Howrah. S/o Kali Dwarkanath  
of Kaddia, P.S. Fakirhat, Dt. Khulna.

7, 39, 52, 64,

C 3

Bhattacharji, Kalyani - nee Das (B.R. 1871) d/o  
Beni Madhab of Sarwatoli, Chittagong  
c/o 17/A Ekdalia Place, Ballygunj.  
C.S.P.

7, 9, 59, 61,

C 3

Baner. Ira - d/o Nalinikanta of 190 Daudnagar  
Road, Cal.

7, 36, 59, 60,

C 3

Baner. Dhira - d/o Nalinikanta of 190 Daudnagar  
Road, Cal. Editor of "The Spark", an  
organ of the U.S.A.

7, 36, 59, 61,

C 3

Baner. Indira - d/o Nalinikanta of 190 Daudnagar  
Road, Cal.

7, 36, 59, 60,

C 3

Banerji, Prabasini - w/o Shibnath Banerji  
of 3/1, Kali Banerji Lane, Howrah.

13, 40, 60,

C 3

Baner. Ajit - S/o Saral Chandra of Kulitpur, 60,  
P.S. Bhadarwanj, Faridpur c/o 46 A  
Bosepara Lane, Cal.

60,



61,

C.D.

Bhattacharya, Prof. Kirmal - Prof. of Scottish  
Church College & Lecturer of Calcutta  
University. - S/o Bhagnabali Charan of Sutan  
Ghosh. Faridpur. 407 P. 521. Ballygunge Avenue, Cal.

62, 64,

C.D.

Banerji, Dr. Chandra Chandra - S/o late Narendra  
Nath of Vill. Nawabpur St. Hooghly & of  
Pandua, Deen Bann, 24 Parganas.

62,

C.D.

Bhattacharya, Biren - Bengal organiser of C.S.P.  
S/o Sarat Chandra of Kolagariat, Ghent,  
Dacca.

62,

C.D.

Basu, Subhas Chandra - Ex. President A.I.C.C.  
founder of Forward Bloc.

62, 64,

C.D.

Banerji, Surendra K. - C.S.P. S/o Rajani Kanta  
of Narai, Donesingh, Faridpur & of 48 A  
Vivekananda Road & of 6 A Abhay Guba Road,  
Calcutta. M.L.A. (B.L.A.).

C.D.

Barak, Gopal - Capt. C.S.P. S/o Brindaban  
Chandra of 72 Nawabpur Road, Dacca.

C.D.

Bhattacharya, Tridib - joint Secy. of the Training  
Committee for the All Bengal C.S.P.  
S/o Tarak Banerji of Bitghar, Kabinagar,  
Tipperah & of Choubatia, Palua & of Shargaddar,  
Puri & of 15, Marcus House, 3 Balak Dakhana,  
Cal.

C.D.

Basu, Hemanta - C.S.P. S/o Purna Chandra of  
2 Sri Krishna Lane, Cal.

62,

C.D.

Basu, Jaga Mohan - Cong. S/o late Rajendra  
of 6 A Nimdita Lane, Cal.

C.3. Basu, Bhabalosh - 5/8 Akhoy Kumar Basu 67.  
7 Tripurakulir, Williams Town,  
Deogarh. Congress Sympathizer.

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Deogarh. Congress Sympathizer.

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7 Tripurakulir, Williams Town,  
Deogarh. Congress Sympathizer.

64.

Chetaji, Tushar Kanti - of Hoshiy. S/o Late  
Purna Chandra J. Bhattacharya, Br  
Chandannagore, Hoshiy. 33 Zakaria  
St, Cal.

65.

Chetaji, Kamaladevi - w/o Harindra Nath  
Chetaji B/o Sarojini Naidu J. Dharmasa  
garden, Mangalore + S/o Ashore Nath of  
Bikrampur, Dacca.

Dikshit, Mrs. Honika (W) - w/o one dikshit, 6, 50, 51, 59,  
 Manager of Tata office at Patna. w/o  
 Salga Das Dikshit of Vill. Legu, P.S. Safipur,  
 Dt. Unao, U.P. w/o late Ram Bharsawasti  
 of Chandpur, P.S. Chandpur, Dt. Tippera w/o  
 Shibu Charan Wasti of Chandpur, an uncle of late.

Das, Arsal - S/o Beni Madhab of 6/7/1 Ekdaia 7, 35, 36, 59, 60,  
 Road, Cal. 61,

Devi, Sarala - M.L.A. of Telangharar, Cuttack 13, 40,

Devi Bhavali - w/o Atul Krishna Banerjee of 54,  
 Vill. Ghatsila, P.S. Ghatsila, Dt.  
 Singhbhum (Bihar) w/o 25 Nilmoni  
 Mitra Street, Calcutta w/o Chitra,  
 Birsampur, Hooghly w/o 10 Simlaipara Road,  
 Paikpara, Calcutta.

Dhar, Sisir - of Bellinphala. 59, 61,

Deb, Narayn Acharya - M.L.A. a socialist 62,  
 leader from U.P. an important member  
 of All India C.S.P.

Deb, Binomanta - Labour Party member. 63,  
 S/o Nepal of Mailani, Asmatpara  
 Basti, U.P. w/o 97, Hazra Road, Cal.  
 D.R. 1286

Das, Kiron - Brother of Jain Das S/o Bankim 64,  
 chandra of Ichapur, 24 Parganas w/o  
 16, Pran Nath Parvill St., Cal. C.S.P.



63,

Cal Ganguli, Prabhat - 7 Anusilan Samiti.  
S/o Mahan Chandra of Churan, P.S.  
Hawalbag, Sacc 1st Sacc Town  
+9 233, upper circular road, Cal.

64,

Cal Gupta, Mahan Pr. S/o Shyamacharan of Gindia  
Hazarbagh 1st Gita, Barisal 1st 24,  
Harrison Road, Cal. C.P.

64, 65,

Cal Ghosh, Sudhir - secy. North Calcutta Congress  
Committee. S/o Jiban Ghosh of Kashi  
Mitra Ghat Street, Cal.

H

Prof. Hasmayun Kabir - C.S.P. 60, 51,

Halder, Adhir — s/o Late Raicharan 36, 69, 71, 72, 73  
Halder of Vill. Harinkhama, Po. Bagerhat,  
Dist. Khulna & of Vidyasagar Hostel at  
Cornwallis St., Cal. 4th year B.A. Student  
of Vidyasagar College, Calcutta.

K

60,  
C.S.

Kripalain, Krishna - Prof. of Santiniketan  
S/o Rai Baladur Ramchandra of Azad  
Bhawan, Karachi and of Santiniketan,  
Bolupe -

2

C.J. Lohia, Ram Honolua - Well known C.S.P. 60, 64, 65.



62, 64,

Cal Hazumdar, Sushindra - S/o Rati Kinkaraj V. C.  
 Akhalia Gader, Sylhet, Manipal Samiti  
 Niketan Press, Bolpur 47 66, South Sinthi  
 Road, Cal. C.S.P.

63, 64,

Cal Hazumdar, Ganaka - S/o Charu Chandra  
 Hazumdar of Kaldanga Haringhata  
 Nadia 47 82 Harish Chatterji St, Cal. C.S.P.

63,

Cal Hazumdar, Jnan - member of Anushilan Samiti,  
 S/o Mohendra Chandra of Raipur, P.S.  
 Melukona, Mysore 47 Panditpara,  
 Mysore.

64,

Cal Hazumdar, Surend - S/o Mahendra @ Mahesh of  
 Krishnapur, Nadia 47 121, Cornwallis  
 Street.

(54)

Cal Nitta, Amarendra Prasad - S/o Late Hari Prasad  
 of Konnapore, Hooghly.

64,

Cal Mukherji, Rajani - R.D.P. S/o Lalit Mohan of  
 Barielly, U.P. 47 74 Upper Circular  
 Road, Cal.

N

<sup>Cal. 1955</sup>  
Nengi, Pannalal - 3/0 Borendra Neogi of 36, 37, 39, 59,  
Jamaalpur, P.S. Hekliganj (Cooh- 60,  
Behar) & 55, Creek Road, Cal. C.S.I.

<sup>2</sup> Neogi, Panchann - Prof. Calcutta University 60,

<sup>C.S. 1955</sup>  
Narayan, JoyPrakash - well-known C.S.P. 60, 62, 64,

9

C.9. Publication - "The Saboteur Strategy of 8, 14, 46, 76,  
The Construction Program" Published  
by Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India,  
Section of Fourth International. Printed  
at Modern Press, Mysore. by Suran Hovary.

C.9. " - "For an anti Imperialist 8, 14, 42, 76,  
" - "left front" Published by Bolshevik-  
Leninist Party of India, Section of  
Fourth International. Printed at  
Modern Press, Mysore.

C.9. " - Book "Sathi" editor Prabhakar 80,  
Namaji.

C.9. Patwardhan, Achyut - a well-known 80,  
C.S.P.

C.9. Pramanik, Sudhindra - S/O Late Subja Kumar 84,  
S. H. D. Gopalpura, Santipur, Nadia.  
1st 247, Bowbazar St., Cal.

Shah, Kanti Lal, Jaipur (23) - 5, 55, 57, 58,  
 "Bilkhus" in Santalpur. He is a Gujarati  
 Jain by caste. He is dealing in silk stores  
 and electrical goods in Bombay.

Sen, Madhuri - 190 St. L. H. Sen of 190,  
 Laidown Road, Cal. (7, 36, 59, 60,

C.S. - "Bengal Relief Committee" of  
 Society - "Bengal Relief Committee" of  
 Kalyani Bhattacharya - 9, 14, 46, 60, 61,

C.S. - "Bolshevik - Communist Party" - 59, 61,

C.S. - "Bolshevik - Communist Party" - 60.

C.S. - Sarkar, Prof. Binay - Prof. of Economics,  
 Calcutta University. 61,

\* Singh, Anand Kumar Prasad - 62,

C.S. - Swami Sahajananda - A.D. Kishan Sinha - 62,

C.S. - Sen, Arun - 36, 69, 72.  
 - S/o Subodh Chandra Sen of  
 Vill. Tepakhol, St. Faridpur 47  
 T 164 D. Dakshin, Co. Balgachia,  
 Calcutta. 3rd year Science Student  
 of City College.





55, 57, 60,

23. Yusuf Heterally - known C.S.P. work by  
Konoraka, Santiniketan, Bengal &  
K.R. Kripalani, Santiniketan, Bolpur  
& Victoria Terrace, Calcutta. &  
Dillkhar, Santacruz.

File no. S.640/45

Read vs. 2  
Pl. note for S.P. 966  
on pages 17, 18, 19, 20  
for S.3.5.5. May on  
P. 8 inside A.C. 15  
order on those papers  
Hester 19.6.45. 21/6

Ref. Sec. 21/6  
21/6

21/6

AC 2

Perusal of Ref. Section's note on the margin  
of pages 8, 9 vide your order there. S.P. 966 is  
linked below for the reference note on Bangalore  
scandal.

F. B. Hester  
28.6.45.

21/6

AC 2

Papers 19-48 may be marked for indexing.

Hester 2.2.45.

21/6

AC 2

No reply has yet been received of this office letter  
at 6.32. Reminder is placed below for signature please.

Hester  
26.7.45

986m

21/6

53-50 — (1) Memo no. 27073/443-36 DEF. A.B. 27.7.45 from S. B.  
54. — (2) " 27071/443-36 Def. 27.7.45 from S. B.

AC 2

(1) Perusal of pages 53-50 with reference to  
pages marked against each page. Pages  
may be marked for indexing.

(2) Perusal of p. 54 with ref. to p. 10. Page may  
be marked for indexing.

F. B. Hester  
1.8.45.

1 p. 2. One

58-55. — (1) Memo no. 27327/443-36 DEF. - A.B. 27.30.7.45.

66-59 — (2) Memo no. 29220(3)/443-36 DEF/A.B. 27.28.7.45.  
for reading statement of Abdul Krishna Khan.

AC 2

(1) Perusal of pages 58-55 with reference to  
pages marked against each. The pages may  
be marked for indexing.

(2) Perusal of pages 66-59 with ref. to p. 17.

Paper may be marked for indexing. D.O's may  
supply the full particulars of persons in numbers  
3, 5-8, 10-12 as on p. 36 from college record & co. as  
may suggest identification of no. 9 & similar on p. 25.

D. A.

21/6

J. D. D.  
Ac. 3 order (2)

Hester  
2.8.45.

(1) Unmarked

(2) 1 300

20 170

AC 2

418

Do's may appear in the list

11  
Memo no. 12541 S.B. 27.2.45 from R. B. S. D. - 67.  
88(1745)

Rev. Perusal of p. 67 with ref. to p. 32 & pages  
23-22. Page may be used for indexing.

F.B.  
H. B. 45.

Copy to go

15-11-45

Rev.

(1) Perusal of J. J. D. D.'s note on N.S. preface bottom  
with ref. to J. B. letter at p. 66 under our order (1)  
on N.S. preface bottom & p. 36 item 4(A).

F.B.  
H. B. 45.

(2) Endorsement on p. 67 for signature  
please under your signature.

(1) or sample

(2) same no. 1012

Under 3.9.  
H. note for J. J. D. D. for supply  
the particulars of nos.  
7, 8 & 11 on p. 36 under  
H. J. D. D.'s (1) & J. J. D. D.'s  
note on N.S. preface bottom  
17.2.45  
15/11/45

Rev.

S. J. A. H. C.'s report is annexed re: Nos. 7, 8 & 11  
as mentioned on p. 66. Regarding other  
identities can not be established under  
J. J. D. D.'s note on N.S. preface bottom. He  
may send that reply as an additional reply.  
D. B. F. A. P.

F.B.  
H. B. 45.

15/11/45

- 68.

Report of S. J. A. H. C. 27.4.45.

- 70-69.

Rev.

Perusal of pages 70-69 with ref. to p. 36  
and J. J. D. D.'s note on N.S. preface bottom. D.B.  
wanted to know the identities of certain persons  
under p. 66 who replied under p. 68 that enquiry  
is in progress re: nos. 7, 8, 11 and identities of  
others can not be supplied. D.B. has supplied  
particulars of nos. 11 only & it is also not known  
that he is the person referred in item 4(A) on p. 36.  
For orders please send to reply J. B.

H. B.  
15/11/45

(1) Lt. Hill to try from London to  
Chicago staff. (2) Mr. Hill also to try  
Hill to try from London to Chicago staff  
for records from Chicago records 1943-44.  
(2) should send to Mr. Hill  
15/11/45

15/11/45

15/11/45



71. — Report of S. J. A. McC. 8.13.7.

Act. Personal of pages 71 & 70-69 with ref. to nos. 7, 8, 11 mentioned in item no. 4(h) on p. 36. May supply the particulars of 7 & 11, and say that particulars of no. 8 could not be traced as asked for under p. 66. D.B.F.A.P.

72. — F.P. H. H. 15.9.45.

HG 17/10

73. — Memo no. 35155 8.13.7.45 from J.B.

Act. Personal of p. 73. with ref. to pages 67 & 33. J.B. asks for a copy of this office letter at p. 33. May send

74. — copy of the same? D.B.F.A.P.

F.P. H. H. 19.9.45.

16/10

Act.

J.B. enquiring reports of item nos 2, 3, 4(a), 4(c) of pages 46-39 are awaited. He may ask J.B. if those have since been completed in order to take up the question of disposal

75. — of properties. D.B.F.A.P.

F.P. H. H. 26.10.45.

20/10

78. — Memo no. 39071/443-36/Def./A.B. 2.11.45 from J.B.

79. — " " 39473/443-36 2.11.45 from J.B.

Act.

Personal of pages 79-78 with ref. to p. 75 & items 2, 3, 4(a) & 4(c) on pages 46, 42, 40 & 39. All actions on (1) pages 46-34 are complete. J.J.D.D. may now suggest action for disposal of the items mentioned in those pages. (2) Pages 69-79 may also be marked for indexing if there is any.

F.P. H. H. 12.11.45.

1. J.D.D.

26/11/45

Act.

Re: (1) The search was conducted in 18 regarding the page 18. It may be requested to advise regarding the manner of disposal of the article. (2) Papers have been marked

14/11

IV

AC2.

Perusal of J.G.D.D's note on H.S. prepapc bottom  
with ref to office note there. JG approved the draft — 80  
at p. 80 may be signed.

F. P. H. H. H.  
15.11.45.

C. H. H.  
17/11/45

Memorandum 41923  
443-36 (Ref. H. H.) 8. 1.12.45 — 81

AC2. Perusal of p. 81 with ref. to p. 80. Re: disposal of articles,  
mentioned on pages 46-34, J.B. suggests that those  
may be kept on record. For approval please.

H. H. H.  
11.12.45.

1. 3252  
no p. H.

AC2

As decided by the J.G., all the items nos 1 to 6 at  
page 12.16 may be kept on record.

D. H. H.  
13/12/45

AC2

In suggestion of 1. J.G. is done  
may be accepted. no p. H.

T. H. H.  
14/12

R. G.  
H. H. H.  
27.12.45

Complied with.

All the items nos 1 to 6 are placed directly  
for keeping on record.

H. H. H.  
14.12.45.  
27/12/45.

## CONFIDENTIAL DIARY.

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Hour of receipt by Dy. Commr. \_\_\_\_\_

Due Daily to the Dy. Commissioner of Police, D. D.  
S. B. \_\_\_\_\_D. D.  
S. B. \_\_\_\_\_

## CALCUTTA POLICE.

A.S.  
From Inspector \_\_\_\_\_

Guna moy Chatterji of S.B.

of D.D.  
S. B. Calcutta, dated \_\_\_\_\_

16829

1576

Date and hour.	Diary.	Dy. Commissioner's Remarks and Orders.
	<p>Ac II</p> <p>Sir,</p> <p>The following person has been arrested mfr 123 Cr. Rules on 15.6.45.</p> <p>Abul Krishna Bose (37) S/o.</p> <p><u>C.S.P.</u> Late Hari das Bose. of vill:- Ghatshila. Ps:- Ghatshila. Dist:- Singbhum. (Behar)</p> <p>and of 25 <del>Hibatan</del> Nilmoni Miller St. Calcutta.</p> <p>and of Chatra, Srirampur Hooghly.</p> <p><u>Whe</u> Sign <u>Smt. H</u> no 1576</p>	<p>Submitted. C. Chatterji 15.6.45.</p>



Memo no. 16829/S. 501/45 II dated 15/6/45

From C. P., Calcutta

To The Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal,  
Home Dept. (Special Section)

Sir,

In accordance with the provisions of rule 129, clause 2 of rules framed under the Defence of India Act, 1939, I have the honour to report that acting under the powers vested in me under rule 129 (1) (a) of the said act the marginally noted person has been arrested in Calcutta, on 15.6.45.

15/6/45  
Alul Krishna Basu  
Sodali Haridas Basu  
of Vill. Shatshila,  
P.S. Shatshila, St.  
Singhbari (Bihar)  
4 of 25, Nilmani  
Mitra Street, Calcutta &  
of Chitra, Srirampur.  
Hooghly

The D.I.G., I.B. is now approaching Govt. for orders regarding his detention in his custody.

I have the honour etc

15/6/45  
For C. P., Cal.

Memo no. 16829/S. 501/45 II dated 15/6/45  
Copy forwarded to S.S.I. I.B., for  
information and favour of necessary  
action.

Alc.  
D.F.A.P. (vide  
your order below)  
15.6.45.

15/6/45  
Addl. D.O.S.B., Cal.

to  
for office  
15/6/45

Arrangement of Search to Commence at  
3/30 Am on 15.6.45

Ref: J.P. 101 & 13.6.45  
C.S.P.

- (1) Burtala P.S. 1 officer. 1 H.C.  
and 6 Consts.  
A house at Milmani Mitra  
~~Street~~ Street to be pointed out by the I.B. officer. S.B. S.D. P.N. Chakravarty  
I.B. Insp. M. M. M. by I.B.

The address is to be searched thoroughly. Atul Basu and other male inmates to be found there, are to be brought up for interrogation. Atul Basu is to be arrested upr 129 S.I.R. Insp. H. M. M. Chakravarty of I.B. knows the fact in detail. Please take instructions for him.

*[Signature]*  
14/6/45



4

Authorization by the Deputy Commissioner of Police  
Special Branch, Calcutta, for search under rule 126(4) of the  
Defence of India Rules, 1939.

By virtue of powers conferred upon me by Government  
of Bengal, Notification No.4434 Def. dated the 11th May, 1944,  
empowering to exercise within the town of Calcutta as  
defined in the Calcutta Police Act, 1866, together with the  
suburbs of Calcutta as defined by notification under  
section 1 of the Calcutta Suburban Police Act, 1866, the  
powers conferred upon the Provincial Government by sub-rule  
(1) of Rule 126 of the Defence of India Rules, made under  
Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, 1939.

I do hereby, under sub-rule (4) of Rule 126 of the  
said Rules, authorise Inspector/Sub-Inspector.....  
...*P. N. Chakravarty*.....  
of the Special Branch, Calcutta, Police, to search 24.....  
.....*Nilmoni Mitra Street*.....  
situated within the said area, as I have reason to believe  
that the said place has been, is being, or is about to be  
used for the purposes prejudicial to the efficient prosecution  
of war, to the Defence of British India or to the public  
safety or interest and to seize anything which he has reason  
to believe has been, is being or is about to be used for  
any purpose prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of war,  
to the Defence of British India or to the public safety or  
interest.

*B.B. Chatterjee* 14/6  
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
Special Branch, Calcutta.

Dated.....*14. 6.*.....1945.

NJ. The warrant is issued not in my name, but in the  
name of no. 25, Nilmoni Mitra Street. *Chit Krishna Bose*  
15.6.45

Only complied with - and after search his  
papers as per search list were seized.

*Palash*

183-11944-42-11,704,11,70,400  
cit. 183-11944-42-11,704,11,70,400  
P. 57

6  
The card, containing the  
name of Hand Lab School  
Silk Road, North Ave Road,  
Santa Cruz, Sonora.  
I don't know this person  
and cannot say how this  
card came to me.  
A. H. K. Bore  
15.6.45

Recorded by me  
Richard S.  
82511  
15/6/45  
H. H. K. Bore  
15/6/45

5  
of local volunteers reported  
in the anti-malaria campaign  
conducted by the Anti Malaria  
Committee (Bengal Relief  
Committee) at Dacca.  
In Kalyani, Khattothaji  
gave me this list asking  
me to supervise the work.  
But I could do that for  
my other professional  
engagements.

5) IP is taking  
memo act  
no 10/11  
P. 51.

✓ Mrs. Monika Sikshit  
is the wife of a certain Mr.  
Sikshit, Manager of  
Tala office at Patna.

I came in contact with  
Mr. Sikshit in Patna in  
connection with my insurance  
business. I have got no  
personal acquaintance with  
Mrs. Sikshit who was  
later known to my wife.

17/13, Ganga Rd. Lucknow  
is the address of Gunda  
Majumdar (now in jail)

P. 19.  
1  
L. one nic  
P. one anin  
13. other in  
to give me more  
no 196  
Reported on 17/11  
the 11/11

✓ Ajit Kumar Ray of LA Lucknow  
but he came to be acquaint-  
ed with me during my  
stay at Dacca about  
3 years back when he  
also went there for  
change. He gave his address  
requesting me to see him  
in Calcutta.

Mr. Subrata Banerjee had later gone  
sent those letters etc. to me.  
Mrs. Banerjee was conducting the  
case on behalf of the accused  
person.

1/3 will later may  
act NC 1576  
P.55

4(9) - J. K. M. Banerjee Ray  
Chairman of Lakshmi  
Unijob Club, 10 North  
Rondway, Suburban, Calcutta  
a friend of mine who  
helped me with a loan  
in connection with my  
present business. This  
letter contains a proposal  
for starting a new business.  
The proposal however  
did not materialize.

4(h) - This also contains the  
names of ~~Members of~~  
~~Antenna Club~~ Sabya  
Banerjee S/o Subrata  
Banerjee M.A. of Howrah,  
Sabya Dhar, Anil Das  
S/o Kalyan Bhattacharya,  
K. K. M. Sen.  
Ira Basu, Shira  
Basu and Indra Basu.  
All names of Kalyan  
Bhattacharya, who  
are all known to me.  
The other persons are  
not known. This is a

Mem  
NC 1576



young children below the age of 5 years. Now the supply of milk comes from the Indian Red Cross Society and the Bangaya Sema. There is no connection with the supply of milk.

No 2 and 3) I can not say how I came by these books viz

"The Sabalain Strategy of the Constructive Program" and "For an anti-Semite Left Front" both published by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Section of Fourth International. I presume some body might have left them in my house. I don't subscribe to the views put forward in these books.

No 4) (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) and (f) are letters from either Puri or Cuttack, all addressed to the house of Mr. Sibnath Banerjee Howard in connection with the case against Ajit Datta and others who were arrested at Puri on their way from Madras.

The widowed sister-in-law of Ajit Datta came to me for the information re: the result of the case. As I did not know anything about the case I referred the matter to the wife of

39 P. 46  
H. Putal...  
Refere...  
the house at...  
has not...  
15/6  
The Search...  
State...  
21/6  
P. 46  
P. 42

2  
the above said business  
which is the only source of  
income and maintenance  
of my family, is ~~between~~  
~~Rs 250 and~~  
Rs 300/- per month.

I was connected to 6  
months ago in connection  
with the C.A. movement in  
Calcutta in 1930. I was the  
general secretary of the  
Congress Socialist Party, Bengal  
from 1934 to 1938 when I resigned.  
Since that time, I am  
not connected with any  
political organization.  
I give the following explanation  
in regard to the posters  
seized on search of my  
house this morning. -

SP 946/114  
(CCO)  
W/O Mural  
Bhattacharya  
with or  
without  
20  
15/1

1) Sri Kalyani Bhattacharya  
who has organized the  
Bangaia Seva Dal  
has opened a relief  
Centre in one of the  
rooms on the ground floor  
of my house about  
6 months back. The  
persons mentioned in  
the Seva Dal forms are  
the recipients of relief  
(milk) from the Seva Dal.  
These persons are all

Refer  
to details  
in this file  
134 of the file  
SP 966 may  
kindly be  
the file  
27/6

Statement of Babu A.T. ✓ 10  
Krishna Bora (37) ~~at~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>of</sup>  
Babu Hander Bora of  
Ghatila St. Singhetun  
(Behar), ~~son~~ <sup>brother</sup> of  
Chakra D. Sengupta of  
Hooghly and of 25, Nilmoni  
Mishra St. Calcutta

I live at 25, Nilmoni Mitha  
St. with my wife and  
2 babies. I am running  
a business in iron fitting  
materials under the name  
Alokamanda Iron works  
at the same address.  
The business was located at  
10 Sindapara Lane and  
was shifted to the  
present address in 1942.

I am the sole proprietor  
of the business and there  
is no other male member  
in my family. My wife  
has been suffering from  
a chronic duodenal ulcer  
and her present condition  
is serious and endangers her  
life and there is no body  
to look after her in my  
absence.

The house we live in  
is rented in the name  
of my wife at Rs 40/-  
per month.

My income from the

1 D. is verified  
this

no 15/2

P. 54

P. 54

(5) One Slip of paper containing  
the name of (Mrs) Monika  
Bisht, Wash House,  
10 Chandpur St T. D. 25th Nov.  
17/13, Ganga Road (Ludhiana)  
and on the reverse is written the  
name of Ajit Kumar Roy (Hadar)  
6A, Michael Gull St with  
plan of the route from Eople  
to Michael Gull St etc.

(6) One card containing the following  
"Bilkrish, North Avenue Road,  
Santa Cruz, Bombay (to  
Kanta Bil Shah with some  
piled Hindi looking writings  
Nos 4, 5 and 6 were found in a card box in  
the south western room, first floor.

Pulchankar  
Rajul Krishna Bora  
15.6.95

82513

15/6/65

Witness —

① Inspector 15-6-65

② Lomala Muthugan  
15/6/65



4) An envelope addressed to Prabhusinh  
Banshi 3/1 Kesh Banerjee Lane,  
Howrah containing the following:-

(a) a copy of a Telegram No 78 & 22/2/5  
for Gangadhar of Puri  
Pur Basanta Banerji, 3/1,  
Kesh Banerji Lane, Howrah

(b) one Post Card & 16/2/5  
for Gangadhar of Puri to Sri  
Sardula Babu, M.A., Telanga-  
Bazar, Cuttack

(c) one P.C. & 2/2/5 for Sunil Kumar  
Ghosh to Mr. Sibnarath Banerji  
of 3/1, Kesh Banerji Lane, Howrah

(d) one P.C. & 2/2/5 for Mahindra  
to Satyendra Banerji, 3/1,  
Kesh Banerji Lane, Howrah

(e) one letter & 22/2/5 for G. Chalapathi  
of Puri to Mr. Banerji, Howrah

(f) one letter in Bengali for Sardula  
of Cuttack to Sidi

(g) one rough letter & 27/10/49 for  
Tikendra Narayan Ray residing  
at Sakun Villa, Forest Gate, No.  
10, Rowli, Bombay Suburban  
to Atulda

(h) one piece of paper containing the  
names of Hemendra Sen (S. F. J.)  
Satyendra Banerji & others  
with names of colleges & other  
names of days against their  
names

352  
15.6.45  
Atul Krishna Bose

of the

Case No.

Special Diary from the Inspector of Section

Bengal Form No. 4280.

15-6-45

15-6-45

15-6-45

OTO

Full name

15-6-45

15-6-45

SBMK

1533

14

Search List:

Site and date: - 15.6.45 from 3/30 A.M. to 6 A.M.

Name and address of person whose place is searched: - Atul Krishna Bora of 25, Nilmoni Mitra St. Calcutta

Address: - 1) Kantar Singh of 68/A, Beadon St. (Hotel)

2) Shownath Mukherjee of 33 A, Nilmoni Mitra St Prop. by Lanka Tea Co of 68 A, Beadon St. Calcutta

Properties seized: -

- 1) A pad containing 14 forms of Bangiya Jana Dal with names of recipients a milk viz Anna Purna Batta, Bhupen Chakraborty and others

Found in the north eastern corner room on the ground floor in the northern wall shelf

- 2) One copy of the Programme Strategy of the Constructive Program by Suren Chandra published by Bolshevik Communist Party of India Section of Fourth International.

- 3) One copy of "For an anti-imperialist Left Front" by Bolshevik Communist Party of India Section of Fourth International.

Nos 2 and 3 found in an abandoned room in the north western corner room on the ground floor

Full name SBMK PTO

Atul Krishna Bora  
15.6.45

15.6.45  
15/6/45

3  
15  
Continued after observing all  
legal formalities of house  
search and in presence  
of the above mentioned  
witnesses between the hours  
of 3/30 and 6 Am

A search list was  
prepared on the spot and  
the search list and inventory  
were signed by the search  
officer and witnesses and  
the signature of Akul Kumar  
Bansal was also taken on  
the search list.

After search, Akul K  
Bansal was taken to Sec C  
and ~~under investigation~~  
S.S. N 12 and H.C. II S.R.  
were informed and under  
their orders Akul Bansal was  
arrested in P.N. 129 S.R. Rules  
and kept in Sec C lock-up  
for safe custody.

A telephonic message  
has been sent to S.D. Officer

A short statement  
containing the explanation of  
~~the proceedings~~ Akul K  
Bansal in regard to the  
properties seized, is attached

Submitted for  
D.P. No 15445.

Submitted  
D.P. No 15445

16

2

009'01'11-904'11-57-9961-002

Whom response was obtained  
 was asked to open the door.  
 The door was opened by  
 him. We ~~was~~ asked his  
 name. After ~~barrying~~  
 a little, he said that his  
 name was Atul Bose.  
 The search ~~was~~ author-  
 ization was shown to him  
 and the persons of the  
 search party and ~~the~~ persons  
 were duly searched by  
 him.

Then the entire house  
 which is occupied by  
 Atul Krishna Bose (37)  
 S/O Late Haridas Bose  
 of Ghatika St. Swyambhoo  
 (Belur) and of Chakra, P.S.  
 Serampur St. Hooghly  
 And of 25, Niluon Nish  
 St. was thoroughly  
 searched. He lives there  
 with his wife An Bhavati  
 Devi and two babies.  
 No other male or female  
 inmate was found in  
 the house.

I.D. is  
 arranging  
 to search  
 the ~~house~~  
 of the ~~land~~  
 line after 1912

10  
 10/6  
 P.52.

of J.N.C.  
 will ~~be~~ ~~before~~  
 search ~~of~~ ~~the~~  
 who is ~~being~~  
 10/6

Properties as per ~~search~~  
 list attached were ~~searched~~  
 on search which was

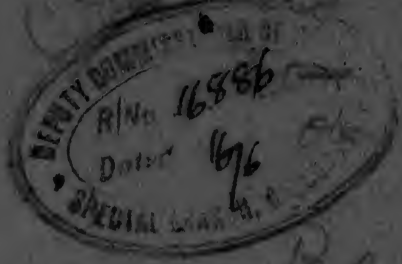
Case No.

Special Diary from the Inspector of Section

Bengal Form No. 4260.

10/6  
 10/6  
 10/6  
 10/6





SI ONE is  
man for interview  
15/6/45  
Done  
for 15/6

Dec 2  
A good result in  
this search.  
The house has  
been searched &  
some property  
seized.  
On 15/6/45?  
D.S. XI has  
me that he is  
taking all  
necessary action  
in connection with  
properties seized and  
also on his return  
to the house.

SI ONE will  
report observations  
with the help of 15  
once she is being  
detained for her purpose.  
Done  
for 15/6

15/6/45  
1576  
15/6/45  
1576

Re Report of Search of  
place of H.L. Krishna Rao  
at Nilmoni with St. 25  
early hours of the morning  
15.6.45

Being armed with an  
authorisation for search  
issued by D.C. B. 2, 14/6/45  
w/120(4) & 1 R. The  
person with H.S. H.L. Chakrabarty  
1 H.C. and 6 Constables of  
Sec 'C' proceeded to Nil  
Moni with St. 25 at 3 AM  
on 15.6.45. Having secured  
two witnesses from the  
locality, Sec proceeded  
to the house and in  
front pointed out by  
Insp. Babu M. Chakrabarti  
of I.B. This house did not  
bear any number plate  
but number 25 was found  
scratched on the wall.  
Then premises numbered  
25, Nilmoni with St. 25  
properly surrounded by the  
constables very quietly.  
After knocking at the  
gate for a while, response  
was obtained from  
inside. He invited them

O.B.16886  
16-6-45

CONGRESS SOCIALISTS; 16-6-45.

139.C.S.P.

On 16-6-45, No. 25, Nilmoni Mitra Street occupied by ATUL KRISHNA BASU son of the late Haridas of Chatsila Singbhum (Behar) and of Chatra P.S. Serampore, District Hooghly, was searched and the following articles were seized:-

- (1) A pad containing 14 forms of "Bangiya Sevadai" with the names of recipients of milk. Some challan forms of the New Bharat Iron Works, General Order Suppliers, 207, Belilious Road, Howrah, were used for this purpose.
- (2) One copy of "The Saboteur strategy of the Constructive Programme" by Suren Morarji published by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Section of the Fourth International. This book was printed at the Modern Press, Mysore.
- (3) One copy of "For an anti-Imperialist Left Front" by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Section of the Fourth International, printed at the Modern Press, Mysore.
- (4) An envelope addressed to Prabashini Banarji, 3/1 Kali Banarji Lane, Howrah, containing some correspondence.
- (5) One slip of paper containing the name of Mrs. Monika Dikshit, Wasti House, P.O. Chandpur Dt. T. dated 25th Nov. 17B, Ganga Prasad Mukharji. On the reverse is written the name of Ajit Kumar Ray (Madan) 6A, Michael Datta Street with a plan of the route from Esplanade to Michael Datta Street etc.
- (6) One card containing the following "Dillkosh, North Avenue Road, Santa Cruz, Bombay C/O Kanti Lal Shah with some printed Hindi.

The articles seized are under scrutiny.

ATUL KUMAR BASU who was evading arrest for a long time, has been arrested u/r 129 D.I. Rules.

(Note the action was taken at the instance of I.B.).

SC.

~~Urgent~~  
~~Secret~~

No. 4200

Reply from the Inspector of Section

Case No.

of the

Re. Ajit K. Ray of C.A. Michael  
Dutt St.

Hour.  
vide  
p.6.

Secret enquiry made in  
Michael Dutt St. reveals that  
one Ajit Kumar Ray @ Madan  
Babu, the Barababu of  
Gladstone Wyllie Ho of 4,  
Fairlie Place, lives at  
C.A. Michael Dutt St  
(own house). He is reported to  
be an elderly man and  
lives at that address with  
his family. Nothing further  
could be ascertained on quiet  
enquiry. Subm. to.

Discontinued  
25.5.45

8.1.45

Para

are the

by 6.1.45

15.1.45

on 21/6/45

for information

to

225.33.

19/6.

Richardson

Subm. to  
17/6/45

17/6/45

Specimen handwriting of Ajit Kumar  
Roy.

অজিত কুমার রায়ের হস্তাক্ষর নমুনা : অজিত কুমার  
রায়ের নাম : ১, ২, ৩, ৪, ৫, ৬, ৭, ৮, ৯, ১০, ১১, ১২.

অজিত কুমার রায়  
21.6.45.

I am a loyal subject. I am never in connection  
to any political activities. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Ajit Kumar Roy.  
21.6.45.

কুমার  
১/৬/৪৫



his return to Calcutta. I then gave  
him a sketch showing to go to 6A  
Michael Street for Esplanade  
as he never came to Kidderpore  
before. He once came to my  
home (6A Michael Street)  
for about 15 minutes. Some time  
in the middle of 1944 and then left  
my home after a brief talk with  
my mother & sister. After 3/4 months  
of his coming to my home I went  
with my sisters (Puspa & Alva) to his  
place at Nilmoni Miller St. (under  
Canal number) off Seader St.  
near one maternity home on my  
way back for a cinema show.  
After that I never met Atal Bha  
nor he came to my place and  
since then I do not keep any on  
record any information of his.

Ajis Kumar Ray  
21. 6. 45.

Recorded by me,  
read over & explained  
to the deposit &  
admitted by him  
to be correct.

Ulebo

21/6/45

(4)

ADDP-A 287-1944-45-3,004,90,000

enquired me of my sister &  
mother of whom he heard  
for his wife. He never saw  
myself or my family before.  
He then requested me to  
go to his place in Seogher  
which is near Bhakalash  
Babin's home. which I did.  
I met his wife there & was  
introduced to her as Ajit Babin  
brother of 'Dra'. In Seogher  
I enjoyed Ajit Babin's association  
for about a week in the  
music soiree. Ajit Babin himself he  
used to call music & dancing &  
I used to go to his home  
& sometimes in the home of  
other local family of which one  
was B.K. Bab's home. The day  
I heard about the bombing  
in Calcutta in Dec. 1947, I left  
Seogher on the following evening  
I was promised to  
come to my home  
at 6 A Michael St. on

Dy. Commissioner & a Member  
and Officer

Diary

Date and  
hour

20

D. D. Calcutta, dated  
of S. B.

From Inspector

CALCUTTA POLICE

Date Daily to the Dy. Commissioner of Police, S. B.

S. B.

Hour at receipt by Dy. Commr.

Date

CONFIDENTIAL DIARY

Reprint Form No. 4502

1

22  
Rt 457 B.

I have no connection with  
politics. I am not a member of  
the Congress or any other political  
organization nor was I ever in  
my life.

I occasionally ~~see~~<sup>went</sup> for a chance  
of Chimbli ~~sometimes~~<sup>once</sup> with my family  
~~at Chimbli~~<sup>alone</sup>. In 1934?  
I went to Benares with my family.  
In 1933 I ~~went~~<sup>2</sup> to Bori and in  
1939 or 1940 to Deophar. We stayed  
in Deophar for a month ~~or half~~  
during that time one day in a dancing party  
~~only~~<sup>my family</sup> were acquainted with  
a lady who was subsequently known  
to be Asha Bora's wife. At that  
time Asha Bora was in Deophar.

Due to my illness<sup>(pills)</sup> I was advised  
by my doctor to have a change. Accordingly

[In Dec. 1943 I went to Deophar  
alone leaving my family in Calcutta  
to look after my homestead in case of  
any bombing. In Deophar at first  
I put up in a hotel where I was  
requested by one Bhakabish Bose, with  
whom I was acquainted during my  
previous visit, to shift to his home  
because my whole family were friendly  
with his family. Accordingly I shifted  
to his home. Bhakabish Bose had  
a cycle shop where I used to  
pass my time one day in  
that shop Bhakabish introduced me  
to Asha ~~Chandra~~<sup>wrote</sup> Bose who

132  
1  
Send extract  
(position where brought)  
to SB, Bihar for  
verification and  
report on the particulars  
and antecedents of  
Bhakabish Bose?

1/16  
1/16  
1/16



24

(3) En. Nandaram Bore (32) - married  
~~to En. Pashupati Bore of~~  
 12 Banerjee Lane (?) a  
 employee in the Chartered Bank

(4) En. Jagrami Mitra (29) married  
~~to En. Premat Kumar Mitra~~  
 of Ambikapur (no. not known)  
 & of vill. Subhāpara, Jyotipore  
 Rajshahi - a clerk in the District  
 Revenue Office, Rajshahi  
 Office.

(5) En. Santarami De (22) married  
~~to En. Kanai Lal De of~~  
 Baria, Tollymore an employee  
 in G.E.C. (Magnet House)

(6) Kumari Puja Roy (19) - unmarried

(7) " Ara Roy (17) unmarried

(8) " Ira Roy (14) unmarried,  
 a student of class VI in  
 Middlemore Girls H.S. School.

Ref. no. name  
 NO 21/1  
 no cards at  
 2/11

I am unmarried. My income  
 is Rs 140/- P.m. & my home is

Dy. Commissioner's Remarks

Diary.

Date and hour.

19

D. D. Calcutta, dated

From Inspector

CALCUTTA POLICE.

Due Daily to the Dy. Commissioner of Police, S. B.

S. B.

Hour of receipt by Dy. Commr.

Date

CONFIDENTIAL DIARY.

Bengal Form No. 4502.

2





Statement of Ajit Kumar Roy (27) of Madan  
s/o Late Inanundon ~~Kishore~~ Roy of ill -  
Lakshmanpara P.S. - Kalna St. Bardwan  
and of 6A Michael Dutt St. Kidderpore  
Calcutta

Discarded with  
B.S.E.  
Ajit is aged in the  
high but he  
must have been in  
the first instance  
his name is  
in the list of  
in 1934

Dec 2 1935-29  
Tansal.  
Ajit as suggested  
was for approval.  
Ajit Roy will  
be again exd.  
100000  
Copy to 70 No  
TAB  
1.33 2/6

My name - Ajit Kumar Roy.  
I am aged about 27 years. I was born  
in Kidderpore, Calcutta. I go to my  
native village occasionally. I received  
education in Calcutta, passed the Matriculation  
Examination for St. Barnabas H. School  
Kidderpore in the year 1933. I read  
in the St. Xavier's College for 2 yrs.  
in 1934 & 1935 but though I  
could not appear at the final  
examination. Then I went by train  
in the Ashutosh College & passed I.Sc.  
from there in 1936. & immediately  
after that I have been working in  
the City Line (Gladstone Wytheville)  
in the Dock in the capacity  
of a clerk in the post of my  
deceased father who died in 1936.

I have been living at 6A, Michael  
Dutt St. for the last 15 years.  
The house was purchased by my father.  
I have the following dependents:-

- (1) Son. Sundhulal Dutt (50 approximately)  
- widowed mother.
- (2) Mohit Kumar Roy (24) - younger  
brother - unmarried - an  
employee in Post. Comm. office  
as a clerk.

P.T.O.

Re. - Ajit Ray

C.L.H

21.8.42

Akhin Sen Gupta said that one Ajit Ray  
of Burdwan (wanted in a Burdwan case +  
evading arrest), now in Calcutta, approaches  
Hemanta Kumar Basu for shelter of the F.B.  
+ or shelter, & that Brijoy Bhattacharya of  
the Ad-Hoc-Congress is keeping him in  
his place at Hemanta's request.  
Ajit Ray came here to find out the  
present stand of the R.S.P. & get all  
its details.

Identity not known

B.C.

21.6.45

5134/45-

Reference note on

Ajit Kumar Roy 870  
Jnanendra Kumar & 6 children  
Pallu Sr. & Lakshmi  
Kalmu - Bardwan

Bardwan CA  
862 of 14.8.43  
Congress

At Bardwan Sachin Sarker -  
Sumitra Sarker and Sailaya Sarker came  
in touch with the following agitators:-

1. Ajit Roy (Kumar - Congress)  
+ others

Identity not fixed

Bardwan CA  
22/6/45

MS. 9. 2B

It shows the following names  
referred to in MS. immediately.

Ajit Kumar Day (37)

Jaumara Kumar

SA Michael Phil St. Albert  
and by

with Lakshmana De. Kalia

St. - Bangalore

MS. 1043

1297/15 70 Ramakrishna Das  
11/22/16 P. S. 2116



WOLFE - A 100-1010-14-1500-10000

M. A. S. B.

27

By reference to the following names  
immediately.

Agit. Kumar Day (27)

27/5/1925

S/o

Notes attached

Pranendra Kumar

P.S.

21.6.

to Michael J. B. Calcutta  
and of

23

to a number of  
the following names  
in the list of names  
in the list of names  
in the list of names

Mr. Lakshmi Prasad Lakshmi Prasad

Delaware, U.S.A.

Pagar

M. A. S. B.

Further Statement of Ajit Kumar Roy  
50 L/James Francis Wishes my  
6 A/ Michael Delli G. Waddupur.

17635  
23/6

I have no further statement  
to offer in addition to what I have  
already given before. I do not know  
any one by the names Adhir Sufoja,  
Hemanta Kumar Bose, & Bijay  
Shallachajie or any one else who is  
connected with any political activities  
to the best of my knowledge.

DC<sup>2</sup>

The reference  
notes don't appear, <sup>relate to</sup> the  
the hon. has  
changed ways  
in connection  
with 53 XI.

P.33. 9/3/50?

46  
23/6

17635  
23/6

I was never wanted or connected  
in any case political or criminal.  
I do not remember to have been leave in  
the year 1942. I had never been  
in the town of Burdwan nor had  
I ever got down in the station of  
Burdwan in my life.

I never know any one by  
the names Sachin Sarkar, Sumit  
Sinha and Saileja Mitra.

I am not in any way  
connected with any political organization  
as previously stated by me.

Ajit Kumar Roy  
22.6.45.

Recorded by me, read over  
to the deponent & admitted  
by him to be correct.

K. K. Dey  
24/6/45

5.6.40/45  
C  
INTELLIGENCE BRANCH,  
13, LORD SINHA ROAD,  
CALCUTTA THE 19<sup>th</sup> JUNE, 1945.

No. 23849 /443-36 Def.-A.B.

To

17496  
21. JUN 1945.  
Rai J. P. Charji Bahadur, J.P.,  
Deputy Commissioner of Police, (II),  
Special Branch, CALCUTTA.

Ref:- Joint report dated 17.6.45 of S.B. and I.B.  
officers regarding Ajit Ray @ Madan of 6A,  
Michael Datta Street.

The undersigned requests that Ajit Ray may be  
examined in order to ascertain how, when and where he  
came in touch with Atul Krishna Basu.

Ref P. 33.

19/6/45  
For SPECIAL SUPERINTENDENT, I.B.

BB/OP.  
19.6.45.



1 Reminded on 28.7.45  
T.P.P. 57  
32  
Memo no. 17495/S.640/45/sec  
dated 27.6.

Subject: - Extract from the  
Statement of Ajit Kumar Ray  
@ Madan S/O ----- etc.

Enclos:  
bracketed  
portion of  
page flagged.  
i.e. P. 23, 22

forwarded to: -

Bihar S. B., for favour of  
verification and report  
on the particulars and  
antecedents of Bhabalosh  
Bose.

Madan  
25.6.45.

for D.C.S.B., Cal.

day, 26th January 1943 which  
the great revolution that began  
pledge ourselves to the early  
the usurper authority whose  
based on bribe and murder.  
country of this shame and horror  
led out our Declaration of  
ning of this revolution, the  
will not rest but suffer and  
rough all our travail and  
in mind the parting message

ock by strikes and all other  
the fullest length under Ahimsa.

Central Directorate.  
A. I. C.C.

Memo no. 17635/S.640/45/sch  
dated 27/6/45 2 Drafts

Subject: - Statement & further  
Statement of Ajit Kumar  
Ray @ Madan S/O - - - - etc.

Copies forwarded to

Enclos:  
Statement  
& further  
Statement  
of Ajit Ray  
below.  
i.e. pages  
25-21 &  
30.

S.S.I. B., for information,  
with ref. to his memo no  
23849/443-36 Def.-A.B.  
dated 19.6.45.

for D.C.S.B., Cal.

H. K. Ray  
25.6.45.

Ref. Sec.  
Page flipped for  
S. A. Ray  
27.6.45.

Done  
27/6  
28/6

PLEDGE

On this Independence  
falls in the midst of the  
on 9th August 1942, we  
and final overthrow of  
insecure continuance is  
Until we have rid our  
and until we have carried  
freedom made at the birth  
Republic of India, we shall  
strive and struggle. The  
suffering we shall bear  
of Gandhiji :-

Cause complete dedication  
non-violent means. Go to  
Do or Die".

LDR.





8705

- 8.69.

13

1.88

100

89. mac

*Pileus* ~~strobiliformis~~

After dinner we went

Observing a child when

*of the action of the*

*Eupatorium* *tenax* L.

St. Louis - 1831

125



2001/02/01

*D. D.* *Cubana*, *etc.*

CAVALRY POLICE.

as before

19

184

20

1

3

10

10/11/01

• **Learn**

— write  
for a while

126267



known. City within 1000 ft.

Handwritten - No. 10

19/5

Office  
in India?  
9/2/20

Admission 146

Examination

Mr. R. K. Das

Mr. R. K. Das

Mr. R. K. Das

Mr. R. K. Das

Mr. R. K. Das

Mr. R. K. Das

Mr. R. K. Das

Mr. R. K. Das

Mr. R. K. Das

Date and hour

Time

By: Commissioner & Director of Police

CALCUTTA POLICE.

CONFIDENTIAL DEARY.

Bangal Street No. 4000.

Due Daily to the Dy. Commissioner of Police, S. B.

S. B.

Hour of receipt by Dy. Commr.

Date



One reply to the D. Commissioner of Police.

8. 10.

CALCUTTA POLICE.

From England

of D. B. C. Cont-will. dated

54

*Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 3(2) 167-180

Date and Time:

1905



12/11/11

The ground is covered by  
moss, and the water is  
very shallow.

3) The ground is covered by  
moss, and the water is  
very shallow.

Page 10  
10/11/11  
10/11/11

10/11/11  
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10/11/11

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10/11/11  
10/11/11

10/11/11

CONFIDENTIAL DIARY.

Environ Biol Fish (2015) 98:1011–1021

Hour of receipt by Dy. Commr.

Run Daily to the Dy. Commissioner of Police, D. D.  
9. 11.

B. D.

B. G.

**CALCUTTA POLICE.**

From Inspector

of D. D. Johnston, dated



14th

15th

16th

17th

18th

19th

20th

21st

22nd

23rd

24th

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2034 Divisadero 113  
46 E. 1875

1) The first on January 14th 1900  
of Quilquid and Quilquid for 100  
feet up to 1000 ft.

2) The first on January 14th 1900  
of Quilquid and Quilquid for 100  
feet up to 1000 ft.

3) The first on January 14th 1900  
of Quilquid and Quilquid for 100  
feet up to 1000 ft.

4) The first on January 14th 1900  
of Quilquid and Quilquid for 100  
feet up to 1000 ft.

5) The first on January 14th 1900  
of Quilquid and Quilquid for 100  
feet up to 1000 ft.

6) The first on January 14th 1900  
of Quilquid and Quilquid for 100  
feet up to 1000 ft.

over 1000 ft

surface 16-19. 2000 ft

1000 ft

under 5'

1. 500 ft  
on 500 ft  
1000 ft

1000 ft  
1000 ft  
1000 ft

1000 ft  
1000 ft  
1000 ft

1000 ft

Re: Detail of the names of persons who  
 received supply of milk for Bangeye  
 Lora Dal

- 1) Annapurna (mother name Ashani)  
 of 32/3, Ram Lalai Boro name  
 Age 1 year - supplied with  
 milk <sup>half a day</sup> ~~the whole day~~
- 2) Sabin Bala (mother name Ashani)  
 of 32/3 Ram Lalai Boro name  
 age - 2 years - supplied with milk  
 twice a day
- 3) Bhupen Chandra Boro
- 4) Lakshmi Boro
- 5) Nilaya Lal Boro
- 6) Jagannath Boro
- 7) Sukumar Boro
- 8) Sanika
- 9) Mahalakshmi Boro
- 10) Anant
- 11) Kashi Nath Chandra Boro
- 12) Khepan
- 13) Upen Chandra Boro
- 14) Shefali Chandra Boro

~~These~~  
 Their address  
 are not recorded  
 as he has not  
 yet known  
 to them.  
 They are said  
 to be all young  
 babies under  
 5 years of age  
 The  
 10/6  
 10/11

5.5.13/5

49

AC

No place in records  
at 9.13.13. They are also  
receiving that from.

St. P.C. may find  
Cassell 25.11.13. As a result  
supported within the field of  
which action by the taking.  
Explain where may be  
taken to the point raised  
into within 1.1.13.  
or by an officer in consultation

Ref. sec. 1.1.13  
to the  
to the  
to the

13/16

one 2.1.13

St. P.C.

One place 2.1.13

On 2.1.13 the same. He says  
that the has already taken  
the action within matter.  
Should have been discussed  
within.

2.1.13

2.1.13

Original transferred to I.B. for disposal as the previous original  
petition No. R. No. 17291 dated 26.6.45 was transferred to I.B. on 1.6.45.  
25, Nilmoni Mitter Street,  
Calcutta, 8th. July, 1945. 49

Copy.

To:-

The Deputy Commissioner of Police,  
Special Branch, 14, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

Re: Arrest of my husband Atul Krishna Bose, from  
25, Nilmoni Mitter Street, Calcutta on 15.6.45.

I would remind you most humbly and respectfully of my petition  
dated 18th. June, 1945, last regarding the above and beg to appeal to  
you most earnestly to let me know your decision in the matter immedi-  
ately. You may well understand how I am passing my days with the two  
babies - there being none either to look after the helpless family  
or to arrange for their maintenance.

Under such critical circumstances I hope that your kind  
self would at once fulfil the prayer of the petitioner either  
by setting her husband free or granting her at least an interview.  
An immediate attention to the matter will be much appreciated.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most truly,

S/- Bharati Bose.

Dated, Calcutta,  
the 8th. July, 1945.

.....

17292 d/- 26/6

Transferred to I.B. on 21/6 Through G. Sec.

.....

P.C.

The previous petition dated 18.6.45 from Bharati Bose was  
sent, in original, to I.B. for disposal. This is a reminder from  
the party. This petition, in original, may also be sent to I.B.

Sent to P.O.P.  
S/- H. Ray.  
I.B. on 12.7.45 12.7.45.

S/- W.R.T. Head, 12/7.

...

DS



Copy of report of a D.I.O. dated 5/7/45

I examined and recorded the statement of Manika Dikshit (27) wife of Satya Deo Dikshit of village, Ugu P.S. Safipur, Dt. Unao, U.P. and daughter of late Ram Bharsa Wastey of Chandpur P.S. Chandpur, Dt. Tippera. She puts up at Chandpur in the house of her full brother Sadhu Charan Wastey (Dismissed Civic Guard Commandant) of Chandpur, P.S. Chandpur, Dt. Tippera. Her statement recorded by me is enclosed herewith.

She had been brought up at Chandpur and till before her marriage she was an inhabitant of Chandpur. I enquired about her character and antecedents both secretly and openly but nothing transpired against her either politically or otherwise. Records of the Comilla D.I.O. office may be consulted.

Statement of Mrs. Manika Dikshit w/o Satyadeo Dikshit of village Ugu, P.S. Safipur, Dt. Unao, U.P., now of Patna, recorded on 4/7/45

I am Manika Dikshit wife of Satya Deo Dikshit of village Ugu, P.S. Safipur, Dt. Unao, U.P. My husband Satya Deo Dikshit is the manager of Sales Department, Tata Oils Depot, Patna. I am now aged 27 years. I have 4 children.

I do not know Atul Krishna Basu. But so far I can recollect one Atul Basu, an employee of an Insurance Company, may be of India Equitable, visited Patna in 1942 when I used to reside in the care of my husband there. At that time I happened to talk with Atul Basu's wife Sharati Devi who might have taken note of my Chandpur address where my late father Ram Bharsa Wastey is domiciled and where I was then expecting to return on pleasure trip.

One Sushovan Guha @ Hashi who was formerly an employee under my husband at Patna in the Sales Dept. Tata Oils Dept. Patna, has a sister named Kamal (married) who puts up at Ganga Prasad Mukherji Road, Calcutta, but I do not know if it is 17/B or not.

I do not know anything about Ajit Kumar Ray Chaudhuri or 6A Michael Street, Calcutta.

Atul Basu may be related to the said Sushovan Guha @ Hashi who has since been transferred to the Calcutta Branch of the Tata Sales Department. I do not know their other particulars.

Confidential.

District Intelligence Branch, Tippera,  
Comilla, the 16th July 1945

No. 4959/6-45(1)

Copy forwarded to the Spl. Supdt. of Police, I.B., Calcutta, for information with reference to I.B. Memo No. 23879/443/36/DBP/AB dated 18/6/45

Sd/-  
Supdt. of Police, D.I.O. Tippera.

CONFIDENTIAL

Senior Special Branch, C.I.D.,  
Patna, 10th July, 1945.

No. 11541 S.B.  
10V/45

Copy of the enclosure to Mess. No. 1117 D.I.B. dated 7th July  
1945 from the Superintendent of Police, Patna.

Mr. Manik Bhasmit left Patna sometime in the middle of May,  
1945, and is at present staying with Mr. S.C. Wasti, Chamberlain,  
District Tipperah. Mr. S. Bhasmit, now deceased, could not throw any  
light about his wife's connection and acquaintance with the family  
of Abul Arisane Basm. He further said that he did not personally know  
either Abul Arisane Basm or any one of his family.

Forwarded to the Special Superintendent of Police, Intelligence  
Branch, Bengal, Calcutta for information with reference to his  
encasement No. 20076(2)/44/35 D.I.B. dated 10th June 1945.

sd/-

D.7.

For S.A. to D.I.G., C.I.D., Bihar.

DAD:  
27.7.45.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 11150 S.B.  
107/45

Senior Special Branch, C.I.D.,  
Calcutta, the 6th July 1945.

Copy of Memo. No. 1662/C dated 3rd July 1945 from the  
Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

.....

Babu Atul Kishore has not come to his house at Ghatala where  
his brother and mother live. This house is just close to the  
residential quarter of S.B.S. Ghatala and is front of Ghatala  
road. He has been absent since about 1943 even. His house  
was, therefore, not searched.

There was found nothing against his brother Babu who  
generally lives in the house.

.....

Forwarded to the Special Superintendent of Police, Intelligence  
Branch, Bengal, Calcutta for information with reference to his  
understanding No. 15872/C, 14, 15/12/44 dated 14th Dec 1944.

Sd/-  
S.D. to S.I.O., C.I.D., Bihar.

2501  
27.7.45.

- (1) Memo, No. 11108 dated 8.7.45. from Diego.
- (2) Memo, No. 11041 dated 28.7.45. from Diego.
- (3) Memo, No. 4009, dated 10.7.45. from Tielcke.



INTELLIGENCE Section,  
 10, WINDMILL ROAD,  
 CALCUTTA dated 27.7.1945.  
 NO: 29073 445-56/2nd. 2.3.

Copies forwarded to Mr. J. B. Bhatnagar, J.P.,  
 Deputy Commissioner of Police (S), District Office, Calcutta.  
 For information. *See in file 123 21.2*

*RB 4/2/45*  
 For Special Superintendent of Police, I.C.

BR/DBD:  
 27.7.45.



Copy of I. A. Officer's letter dated 2.7.45.



On 21.7.45 I was informed that there is a possibility of a ...

... I was informed that there is a possibility of a ...

On inquiry of ... I learned that ...

13.10.45  
13, 13th Street Road,  
Colombo, on 17th July, 1945.  
29191

Copy forwarded to ...

For SPECIAL INVESTIGATION OF ...

21.7.45

No. 3/16(2) of 1946.  
Office of the D. A. P., S. I. D.  
Bandra - 12th July, 1946.

From  
D. A. Rowe Esq., I.P.  
Dist. Supdt. of Police,  
Bombay Suburban Dist. Bandra.

To  
The Dist. Supdt. of Police,  
Int. Branch, Calcutta.

vide  
item 4(3)  
p. 37 & 7.

With reference to your No. 23574/443/36 D.P./22 dt. 12.6.46 and  
No. 24159/443/36 D.P.-A.B. dated 22.6.46 addressed to Mr. C. P. S. (I)  
C.I.D. Bombay I have the honour to state that Mr. Enall (alias)  
(32) is residing at 'Dillmore' in Santacruz. He is a Gujarati Jain by  
caste. He is healthy, tall, and has a good knowledge of English.  
He is a friend of Mr. Enall generally a well-known person in Santacruz.  
of Bombay who was arrested with him about 8 months ago and was  
released after his release from detention in 1944. He is not known  
to have any contact with Mr. Enall. Mr. Enall left his  
place and went to Santacruz at Santacruz for a change of place  
in 1944. The post addressed to Mr. Enall was sent to  
S/o 'Dillmore' at Santacruz, Santacruz. Mr. Enall does not know  
of any connections with the person. It seems that the person  
concerned might have some connection with Mr. Enall generally of

Enall is a friend of Mr. Enall who was arrested for 8 months, a  
General Branch active at Santacruz, Santacruz, Santacruz, Santacruz,  
residing in Santacruz for about 8 months. He was arrested in a vehicle  
supply depot at Santacruz. He was reported to be a Communist with revolu-  
tionary leanings by the U.P., S.I.D., C.I.D., and left Santacruz on 7.6.46  
for Calcutta via Nasir.

Enall is known about his connections with the East India.

Sd/-  
(D. A. Rowe)  
Dist. Superintendent of Police,  
Bombay Suburban District.

Free translation of a Gujarati Poeto-Sheet.

Jain Relief Centre

C/o Shree Gadiji Jain Temple

Lyonsia, Bombay 3.

Relieving Card No.

Name

Date of Issue.

Organisers:

Shree Gadiji Darasur's Padhi

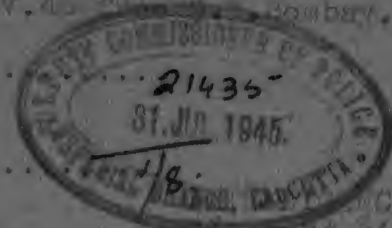
Shree Bombay Jain Volunteer Corps.





No. 3075 dated 4.7.45 From S.B. Bombay.

No. 818(3) dated 15.7.45 From S.B. Bombay.



S. 640/45

29327  
No. .... / 445-55 DEPT. S.B.

Copy forwarded to

Mr. J.B. Bhattacharji Barman, J.P.  
Deputy Commr. of Police, S.B., Calcutta.

For information in connection with the search and arrest  
of Abul Kalam Azad.

*[Signature]* 30/7/45

For SPECIAL BRANCH, DEPT. OF POLICE, I.B.

SB/PT.  
30.7.45.

particulars of the persons whose names have been noted in the body of those letters etc.

(Item No.4.(g)). A letter from Tikendra Narayan Ray Chaudhuri of Bombay addressed to me - This letter relates to a proposal for starting a new business. I am known to the father of the writer with whom I contracted acquaintance at Chunar (U.P.) where he was a Civil Surgeon in 1932-33. Both the father and the son, Tikendra helped me in business. I do not know their particulars.

(Item No.4(h)). A piece of paper containing several names with names of days and colleges against them - A relief centre was opened at Bellinaghatta to fight the outbreak of malaria there. This was started by anti-disease department of the Bengal Relief Committee under Kalyani Bhattacharji. This is a list of volunteers who took up relief work at Bellinaghatta on behalf of the B.P.C. The list was made over to me by Kalyani Bhattacharji who asked me to visit the centre and supervise the relief work of the volunteers. I visited the centre only once on one occasion. The names of days and the dates indicate that the volunteers would be on duty on those days. The names of Colleges show that the volunteers were reading in those Colleges. The names of places show that the boys were residing in those areas.

Of the names mentioned I know the following

- (1) Satyen Banerji is the son of Shibnath Banerji, and lives at 3/1, Kali Banerji Lane, Howrah.
- (2) Sisir Dhar - I saw him at Bellinaghatta Centre. I do not know his particulars.
- (3) Anil Das is the brother of Kalyani Bhattacharji and resides at Ballyganj.
- (4) Madhuri Sen, (5) Ira Basu (6) Indira Basu (7) Dhira Basu - They are nieces of Kalyani Bhattacharji, residing at 190, Lansdowne Road.
- (8) Pannalal may mean Pannalal Neogi.
- (9) Satu is Satyen Banerji mentioned above.

(Item No.5) I have previously given its explanation. This item refers to the paper containing the names of Ajit Ray of 6.A. Michael Dutta Street and of Monika Dikshit.

(Item No.6) The Card containing the name of Kantilal Shah of Bombay - I do not remember when and how this card came into my possession. I do not know Kantilal Shah of Bombay. I have not visited Bombay since 1937 when I had been there for a pleasure trip along with Hiralal Bhattacharji, then of the Nivedita Lane, who was a member of the C.S.P. We then put up at the house of Yusuf Mehraally.

There is Gujarathi writing on the other side of the Card. I have no Gujarathi friend who can leave the card with me.

Sd/- Atul Krishna Basu,  
27/6/45.

Banu, Ira Basu, Indira Basu, Madhuri Sen, Anil Das, Satyan Banerji and two or three other students. At the classes held at the places of Dhira Basu and Kalyani Bhattacharji the attendance number about 40. I only delivered speeches. Since January or February 1945 the study classes are being held in the University buildings. Dr. Nikar Ray, Panchanan Das (Prof. Cal. University) and Prof. Humayun Kabir, have delivered lectures. I was requested to deliver two lectures on peasant problem and communal problem which I have not yet done. I have resigned from the Institute about 3 months back for family troubles.

I learnt from newspaper that Yusuf Meherally had been lying ill at Santiniketan. I wrote to him through post enquiring about his health. Krishna Kripalani sent its reply through post on his behalf informing me that he would be coming down to Calcutta for treatment at the Park Nursing Home and asking me to see Meherally there. Besides a former political colleague, his personal sympathy towards me and my family attracted me to him. I saw Meherally in Calcutta at the Park Nursing Home on two days and talked about his health.

At present I have no political activity. I refused the request of Mrs. Prabhavini Banerji to accept the editorship of the "Sathi". I also refused the request of Prof. Humayun Kabir of a salaried job in the B. & A. Railway Employees' Association. I do not know what is the Council of Labour Association and have not attended any of its meetings. I cannot engage in politics at all for family reasons.

I was a member of the C.S.P., from 1934 to 1938 and of the Congress from 1930 to 1938. I never belonged to any secret party nor supported terrorist ideologies. I am no doubt an ardent supporter of Gandhiji. I have not participated in the August Movement of 1942 and I do not subscribe to the sabotage activities of any kind. I was not in touch with J.P. Narain, R.M. Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali during their absconding period.

Explanation of the documents seized :-  
(item No. 1) A pad containing several forms of the Bangiya Sevadai - I have explained about it in the body of the statement. All whose names have been noted there are recipients of milk and are minors.

(Items 2 & 3) I do not know how the books published by the Bolshevik-Leninist Party came into my possession. I surmise that somebody might have left them in my place for my reading. I have not gone through them. It appears from the name of the Publisher that they contain anti-Gandhi and anti-congress views. I do not subscribe to these views.

(Items 4(a) to (f)). These are correspondences relating to the case in which Ajit Basu, a friend of mine, Panna Lal Maogi and others were implicated in a case in Puri, Orissa. The widowed sister-in-law of Ajit Basu approached me for information about the case. At my request Prabhavini Banerji sent these letters to me. Ajit's sister-in-law saw these letters at my place. These letters have since been lying with me as Mr. Banerji did not take them away. I have not gone through the contents of these letters and am not in a position to let you know anything about the contents of the letters nor give you

me in respect of many articles of the business in Summer 1942. Since then I owned the sole proprietary right and changed the name of the business as "Alokendra Iron Works". In November or December 1942, I shifted to my present address at 25, Nilmoni Mitra Street, which I secured at a cheap rent and which afforded facility for my business.

In 1943 I terribly suffered from eye troubles and became practically blind. I was first under the treatment of Dr. Purnendu Chaudhuri of Belgachia Medical College for a month and then under Lt. Col. Kirwan for about 7 months. In October/November 1943, I went to Deoghar for a change as my wife and myself were both suffering. In January or February 1944, I returned to Calcutta with family and occupied the same house.

Towards November or December 1944, Kalyani Bhattacharji started a relief centre at my place at 25, Nilmoni Mitra Street under the "Bangiya Sevadal". Milk was sent by Kalyani from the Red Cross Society through the Anti-Disease Department of the Bengal Relief Committee for distribution in the neighbouring bustees. I used to receive the milk and was in charge of its storage, as requested by Kalyani Bhattacharji. The bustee boys and girls used to distribute milk. They stamped some papers with the stamp of the Bangiya Sevadal, supplied by Kalyani who instructed them to do so. Subsequently I had connection with the Red Cross Society at Dalhousie Square from where milk used to be had direct. This direct connection with the Red Cross Society is still continuing. Kalyani requested me to accept a part time job in the Anti-Disease Committee on a monthly salary of £ 100/- as she would leave Calcutta for Bombay. The job was, however, not given to me but Amal Das was appointed. This is how I came in touch with Sevadal. I never attended any of its meetings; nor am I a member of this organisation. Sevadal rendered relief at this centre for about a month.

The anti-disease department also started relief work in the malaria-stricken area of Bellinghata. Kalyani Bhattacharji also asked me to supervise the relief work at Bellinghata, already started by her. I visited this place only once and met Sirir Dhar (particulars not known) among other workers.

About this time Kalyani Bhattacharji called a meeting at her house inviting me and some professors viz., Prof. Binay Sarker, Prof. Nirmal Bhattacharji and others for starting a permanent and registered institute for socialist study like the one started at Bombay by the Tatas to carry on research work on socialism. The institute is to impart regular academic teachings on the subject to the students who are to take admission as usually done in Colleges. A Syllabus Committee was formed with the professors present, and myself as the Convenor. Subsequently Prof. Husayun Kabir took charge as the Convenor because it was not possible for me to devote so much time due to family troubles. As no house was available two study classes were held at my place within a fortnight, two at Bhira Banu's place at 190, Lansdowne Road and one at Kalyani Bhattacharji's house at Ballygunge. I delivered lectures on comparative philosophy. Among those who attended the classes at my place were Bhira



4.  
memory goes, because Dr. Charu Chandra Banerji, B. Banerji and other leading members of the B.P.C.S.P. published a statement making allegation against the A.I.C.S.P. and taking exception to their conduct in the Tripuri Session. The Statement was pro-Subhas and criticised the anti-Subhas attitude of A.I.C.S.P. Yusuf Meherally was entrusted to organise Bengal and he in that capacity appointed Biren Bhattacharji and Shibnath Banerji as Bengal organisers of the party (as far as I remember).

After my marriage, I with my wife shifted to Rani Harshamukhi Road, Paikpara (No. of the premises is not remembered). In January/February 1939, I was employed as an organiser of the India Economic Insurance Co., at Clive Row (now Mission Row) and worked in Calcutta till 1940. After the Pujah in 1940 I was transferred to Patna to work there as the Manager of the branch office. At Patna I used to stay at Kadamkwar. Here I took the help of Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha of the Bihar C.S.P. to introduce me to the local people. Awadheshwar was seriously ill due to blood pressure and put up with me to keep aloof from politics for some days.

I heard from Awadheshwar Prasad that J.P. Narain while in Hazaribagh Jail, mangled out a party thesis to Subhas Bose and Acharya Narendra Dev. The thesis contained a programme of work of the C.S.P. as well as of all the leftists, viz., communists, Royists, Forward Blocists, Kisan Sabhaites, etc. It said that the Congress under Gandhiji had reached limitations and there was no prospect of achieving Country's freedom through individual C.D. Movement. It also appealed to the C.S.P. and all other leftists to form a separate platform. I did not see the thesis but I heard it from Awadheshwar. This Thesis naturally created a stir among the intelligentsia in Patna City. Awadheshwar was personally against it. Some of the people with whom I came in contact through my insurance business, asked my opinion about the thesis. I criticised the thesis and expressed opinion that the country could achieve freedom only through the Congress under Gandhiji. When J.P. Narain was released in 1940/41 many people went to give him reception. Awadheshwar Prasad and myself also went there. J.P. Narain asked us to meet him again that very day. We met him at the house of his brother Rajeswar Prasad (near Patna Junction Rly. Stn). He chastised Awadheshwar accusing him (1) of betraying the Kisan Movement in Bihar about which he heard from Swami Sahajanand in Jail and of having volunteered for the individual C.D. Movement without his permission. J.P. Narain asked me why I was making propaganda against his thesis when I was not in politics any longer. I told him that I not being a member of the C.S.P. at the time, had certainly right to hold independent opinion and to express it before the inquirers. I was not making any propaganda. J.P. Narain also asked news about Bengal but I expressed ignorance. Both Awadheshwar Prasad and myself then left the place.

In Summer 1941 after a stay of about 5/6 months at Patna, I came back to Calcutta and put up at 10, Simlaipara Lane, Paikpara till November or December, 1942. A month after my return from Patna I gave up my insurance job and started a workshop named the "New Bharat Iron Works" with Bahrubahan Roy of Howrah who used to work in the same Insurance Co. Sudhindra Mazumdar used to visit my place, being a neighbour. But we did not discuss politics. His family members became closely connected with mine. My partner cheated

I was the President of the Hooghly District Kisan Sabha and Pashupati Banerji was the Secretary. I toured Arambagh side and Singur-Debra areas in Hooghly district and formed committees in 27 Unions there. In Bankura I with Jagadish Palit toured Kotulpur side. Agitation was created against a local zamindar for his oppression on peasants. In Bankura Jagadish Palit himself started committees in several unions. Dr. Madhanath Chatteraj invited me to Thiba in Birbhum District. Agitation was created at my instance demanding remedy for the grievances of local peasants whose lands were wasted away by floods every year and a Conference was also organised there. (Thiba, Birbhum). I also created agitation on behalf of the peasants against a zamindar of avillage, near Nandor in Birbhum.

During my tour in 1938, I visited Comilla, Mymensingh, Murshidabad, Midnapur, Rajshahi, Dacca, Pabna and Rangpur. In all these districts, except Midnapur branches of the C.S.P. were provisionally formed. In Dacca, Pabna and Rangpur branches of the party had already been formed by Gopal Basak, Capt. Anulya Maitra and Dr. Suresh Banerji. Dr. Suresh Banerji also formed branches of the party in Faridpur and Chittagong.

I was elected a member of the National Executive of the A.I.C.S.P., and of the All India Kisan Council in 1937. I attended the Patna, Calcutta and Allahabad sessions of the National Council of the A.I.C.S.P. between 1937-38).

In 1936 the Communists accepted the Congress as the only political party against Imperialism and the C.S.P., as the real Marxist Party. They joined the Congress and the C.S.P., they were subsequently expelled from the C.S.P. for their anti-C.S.P. activities in 1938. In this year, C.P.I. documents were seized in Bengal by me and Gunada Mazumdar from Biswanath Dubey and other Labour Party members who were discussing over it in the C.S.P. Office at 249, Bowbazar Street. This was a secret C.P.I. Circular to their party members to create faction within the C.S.P. and to check its growth in the districts. Mr. M.R. Manani also secured a copy of the Minute Book of the C.P.I. in Bombay which also proved the factional activities of the communists in the C.S.P.

Towards the beginning of 1938, Pratul Ganguli, Ramesh Acharji, Jnan Mazumdar and other leading members of the Anushilan Samiti had negotiations with the A.I.C.S.P. to enter our party and declared that they had liquidated their party. According to the instructions from the A.I.C.S.P. we took them into our party as individual members. But subsequently it was found out that they had not liquidated their party and had been carrying on their party work from our platform. In the Allahabad meeting of the A.I.C.S.P. National Council the members of the Anushilan Samiti were expelled. I attended this session on invitation although I had resigned from the party and was no longer its member at that time. There I pleaded for the expulsion of the Anushilan members.

Towards the end of 1938 I resigned from the C.S.P. and the Kisan Sabha and ceased to take any part in any of the activities connected therewith. Before this I married in this year and I wanted to lead a peaceful life.

In the early part of 1939 after the Tripuri Congress, the B.P.S.C.P. was dissolved as far as my

Congress Committee. This Conference accepted that the C.S.P. line was correct and decided to convene all Calcutta Congress Workers' Conference which was held in 1934 under the Presidentship of Amar Ray probably (particulars not known) at the T.U.C. Office at Cornwallis Street. This Conference was attended among others by J.P. Narain, R.M. Lohia, Suresh Mazumdar, Sudhindra Pramanik and others. It formed an Organising Committee for the All Bengal Congress Socialist Party with myself and Tridib Bhattacharji as Joint Secretaries and R.M. Lohia, Gunada Mazumdar, Amar Ray, Aswini Gupta, Prof. Amarendra Prasad Mitra, Sailen Mitra (brother of Sachin Mitra), Rajani Mukharji (now R.D.P.) and others as members to call an All Bengal Conference. At this time I heard that Dr. Charu Chandra Banerji and Kiran Bas (brother of Jatin Bas) brought authority from the A.I.C.S.P. leaders during the Patna Conference in 1933 to organise C.S.P. in Bengal. But as both of them boycotted the Calcutta Conference, J.P. Narain and R.M. Lohia recognised our party. Dr. Lohia took up organisation work of the party and used to hold discussions with leaders like Dr. Suresh Banerji, Shibnath Banerji, Dr. Charu Sanyal of Jalpaiguri, Dr. Jiban Ratan Dhar of Jessore, Subodh Ghosh of Jessore, Nalini Ghosh of Bacca and others in Calcutta. The All Bengal C.S.P. Conference was held in Calcutta at the Albert Hall in 1935 under the Presidentship of J.P. Narain. Important among those who attended are :- (1) Abdulla Rasul of Burdwan (now C.P.I) (2) Dr. Jiban Ratan Dhar of Jessore, (3) Ranjan Mitra of Jessore, (4) Shibnath Banerji of Howrah, (5) Tushar Kanti Chatterji of Hooghly, (6) Sudhindra Pramanik of 24-Parganas (7) Capt. Amulya Prasad Mitra of Pabna, (8) Gunada Mazumdar, (9) Aswini Gupta, (10) Amar Ray (11) Hemanta Basu, (12) Rajani Mukharji (13) Myself, all of Calcutta and others.

This Conference laid the foundation of the Bengal C.S.P. with an Executive Committee. I was elected as the General Secretary and Gunada Mazumdar, Aswini Gupta, Prof. Amarendra Prasad Mitra of the Vidyasagar College, Sudhin Pramanik, Rajani Mukharji, Abdulla Rasul and others were elected as members of the Executive Committee. I continued Secretaryship of the B.P.C.S.P. till 1938, when Gunada Mazumdar was elected Secretary.

The All India Kisan Sabha was first formed at Lucknow (U.P.) in 1936. I was elected in that Conference as a member of the Organising Committee from Bengal, on behalf of the C.S.P.

Between 1936-38 I toured extensively in Bengal. In 1936-37 I visited Birbhum, Kotulpur in Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah, Jessore and Khulna and formed branches of the C.S.P. in these districts, except Khulna. I had talks about C.S.P. matters with one Suren Babu of the local Congress in Birbhum, Jagadish Palit in Bankura, Tushar Kanti Chatterji and Pashupati Banerji in Hooghly, Shibnath Banerji in Howrah, Nishakanta Ray Chaudhuri in Jessore and others. Branches of the C.S.P. were also formed in 24-Parganas, Bogra and Jalpaiguri by Sudhindra Pramanik, a Muhammadan gentleman who is now a Muslim Leaguer, and Dr. Charu Sanyal respectively. In Calcutta C.S.P. was formed in all the four districts, viz., South Calcutta by Gunada Mazumdar, North Calcutta by Sudhir Ghosh (Secy., North Calcutta Congress Committee), Central Calcutta by Sudhindra Mazumdar and Barabazar by Dr. Suresh Banerji.

My activities in the Kisan front during this period was confined in Hooghly, Bankura, and Birbhum.



Statement of Atul Krishna Basu s/o the late  
Haridas of Ghatsila, Bihar; of Chatra, P.S. Sarampore,  
Hooghly and of 25, Nilmoni Mitra Street, Calcutta.

.....

My name is Atul Krishna Basu. I am aged about 37 years and am married, having two minor children. My father, Haridas Basu, who died in 1934, was a Deputy Superintendent of Police in Bihar. I have three other brothers, viz., (1) Gopal Krishna Basu (50), now almost insane, living with my mother at Ghatsila; (2) Ananta Kumar Basu (45), Inspector of Police, Bihar; (3) Anulya Krishna Basu (42), Foreman in the Tatas at Jamshedpur. I have no connection with them since 1928. We are old residents of Chatra, Sarampore, Dt. Hooghly.

I received my early education at Ranchi, Bihar, up to 3rd Class, then I was transferred to the Saraswati Institution, Calcutta and was admitted in the 2nd class. I matriculated from this School in 1925. In Calcutta I used to live at the house of my maternal uncle, Karali Krishna Chaudhuri at 16 or 17, Brindaban Pal Lane. After passing the Matriculation Examination I read I.Sc., in the Vidyasagar College from 1925-27. I did not appear at the final examination. I gave up my studies and joined the anti-Malaria Society under Dr. Bentley without my father's permission.

I worked in this Society till 1930. I carried out anti-Malarial work in the Machena-Dharnasingh-Mandaran area in Hooghly district. These places are near Khanyan Railway Station on the E.I. Railway. This was purely voluntary work. When I returned to Calcutta in 1930, the C.D. Movement was in full swing and I joined it and was convicted and sentenced to 6 months' R.I.

While in Jail (Dum Dum Jail) I went on hunger strike on demands for better treatment for political prisoners in jail hospital and I continued this hunger strike till the Government complied with the demands. I was first lodged in the Presidency Jail and then transferred to the Dum Dum Jail subsequently (after a month or so). In the Dum Dum Jail there was a Jail Committee recognised by the Superintendent of the Jail. This Jail Committee consisted of political prisoners and I was its Secretary. I had not then clear conviction in politics. Hence I do not know to which groups prisoners in that jail belonged. My father received me when I was released in 1931 and took me for a change in Chunar (U.P.). I returned to Calcutta from Chunar in 1933. I joined the Congress and was elected a member of the North Calcutta Congress Committee till I was its Secretary in 1936 or 1937. From 1933-36 or 37 I was all along attached to the North Calcutta Congress Committee. During this period (1933-36) I first stayed at the house of Jiban Ghosh at Kashi Mitra Ghat Street. Jiban Ghosh's eldest son, Sudhir Ghosh, was a worker of the North Calcutta Congress Committee. Restarted a business in ghee and guinea grass where I was employed as a salesman. From 1935 I was staying at the C.S.P. Office at the Albert Hall, Calcutta.

The Draft Constitution Report of the C.S.P. prepared by J.P. Narain, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Prof. M.G. Kanga, Dr. H.M. Lohia, and others in the Patna Conference in 1933, attracted my imagination. I called a Conference of the North Calcutta Congress Workers in 1934 at the house of Jagu Mohan Basu. This Conference was presided over by Hemanta Kumar Basu and attended by a large number of members of the North Calcutta

Statement of Atul Krishna Basu. 19P



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ref. pages 68+72.

INTELLIGENCE BRANCH,  
13, Lord Sinha Road,  
Calcutta, the 22 July, 1945.

No. 2722-3/443-36 DEF/A.B.

Copy forwarded to :-

1. U. Mukherji Esq., I.P., Superintendent of Police, Hooghly, for information.
2. P. M. Treasure Esq., I.P., Asst. to the Dy. Insp.-Genl. of Police, S.B., Bihar, for information and favour of verification and report on the activities of Atul Basu in Bihar.
- ✓ 3. Rai Bahadur J. B. Bhattacharji, J.P., Deputy Commissioner of Police (2), Special Branch, Calcutta, for information and with a request to suggest the identities of Nos. 3, 5 to 12, 17 and Samir Sen of item No. 4(h) of the search statement, a copy of which is already in the Special Branch Office.

for SPECIAL SUPERINTENDENT, I.B.

BE/BD.  
28.7.45.



CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 12541 S.B. 21785  
88(2)45 4. AUG 1945.

Bihar Special Branch, C.I.D.,  
Patna, the 2- August 1945.

Copy of Memo No. 2023 dated 29th July 1945 from the Superintendent of Police, Santhal Parganas.

On enquiry the facts stated by Ajit Kumar Roy appeared to be true.

2. There is nothing politically known against Bhabatosh Bose s/o Akhoy Kumar Bose of Tripura Kutir, Williams Town, Deoghar. He owns a cycle shop in the Deoghar Town. Though helpful to the Police at times, it is confidentially learnt that he is a secret congress sympathiser and helper.

Forwarded to P. Barnes, Esq., J.P., I.P., Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, Calcutta for information with reference to his Memo No. 17495/S.640/45/Sch dated 27th June 1945.

Memo no. 21785/S.640/45/Sch 27.8

G.2/8 Copy forwarded to S.S.I.S. S.A. to D.I.G.C.I.D., Bihar.  
N. for information, with ref. to this file memo  
no. 17635/S.640/45/Sch 27.27.6.45

for D.C.S.B., Cal.

68

Memo no. S. 640/45/sec 7318

To SSI J.B.

p. 66.

Dear, Ref. your memo no.  
29220 (3)/443-36 DEF/A.B.  
dated 28.7.45.

Identities of nos. 3, 5, 6, 9,  
10, 12, 17 and of Samir Sen  
mentioned in item no. 4 (h)  
can not be suggested.

Enquiry is in progress  
re: nos. 7, 8 and 11 and the  
result will be communicated  
to you, if their identities can  
be established.

yours sincerely

H. K. Ray  
28.8.45.

replied 72.

W. 2918  
F. O. D. C. S. B., Cal

CONFIDENTIAL DIARY.

32  
73

Due Daily to the Dy. Commissioner of Police,

D. D.  
S. B.

24646  
5/9

Date  
Hour of receipt by Dy. Commr.

D. D.  
S. B.

CALCUTTA POLICE.

From Inspector

of D. D. S. B. Calcutta, dated - 4. 9. 1945

Date and hour.

Diary.

Dy. Commissioner's Remarks and Orders.

File 5 640/45 - B.S.P.

Re: particulars of Anil De, & others

vide  
p. 36.

From the college records of Vidyasagar College four persons bearing the name Anil De were traced. Their particulars are as follows -

- (1) Anil Kumar De (15 yrs. 6 months)  
S/o Nabin Chandra De of 22 Kailas, Basu Street. He was a 2nd yr 1st student (Session 1943-44) in 1944. He appeared at the 1st exam. ~~from~~ from this college.
- (2) Anil Kumar De (13 yrs. 9 months)  
S/o Hara Prasad De vill. P. Mohan Dt Hooghly and of 21/B Khudiram Bose Road. He was a 2nd yr 1st student (Session 1943-44) and appeared in the examination last year.
- (3) Anil Chandra De (13)  
S/o Anil Chandra De of 27/1 B, Beadon Row Calcutta. He was a second year I. A. student (Session 1943-44) and appeared last year in I. A. examination.

AGJP-A 807-1944-45-3,200-4,80,000

- (4) Anil Chandra De (18 yrs. 3 months)  
S/o Anil Chandra De, 9 Market Lane

B7 He appeared at the I. A. examination  
in 1944.

side  
p. 36  
no. 7 ✓ Adhir Halder ~~in 1944~~ was traced as  
a 3rd year B.A. student of  
Vidyasagar College (session 1944-45).  
He appeared in B.A. exam from this  
college in 1945. His further particulars  
could not be traced from the college  
records as the admission form bearing  
the particulars are missing from the  
college.

Samresh Mukharji was ~~traced~~  
a second year student.

Re: Samresh Mukharji of 2nd yr.  
Scottish Church College.

side  
p. 36  
no. 8.

— sessions  
The college records for the ~~year~~ 1944-45  
& 1945-46 were consulted but  
no such name could be traced.  
Further particulars may be supplied.

side  
p. 36  
no. 11

✓ Arun Sen was traced as Arun  
Kumar Sen (16 yrs in 1940) from the  
records of City College. He is a  
3rd yr Science student of the college,  
and is son of Subodh Chandra Sen  
of vill. Tepakhola & Faridpur and  
of T/64 D Dakshindari P.O. Belgaichia,  
Calcutta.

Arun Chakraborty  
4/9/45.



S.D.R. 3/ dated 12/9 File no. S640/45 71  
R/no 24646 dated 5/9.

25966  
14/9.

Re: particulars of Adhir Halder  
of Vidyasagar college and Samaresh  
Mukharji of S.C. college.

vide p. 36  
No. 7.

It is learnt from the college staff  
that Adhir Halder (18) is the son of  
late Rai Charan Halder vill. Harin-  
khana P.O. Baghat Dist. Khulna  
He is a 4th yr B.A. student of  
Vidyasagar college and stops at  
Vidyasagar Hostel at Borkhollis Street.

vide p. 36.  
No. 8.

Records of 1943-44 of 2nd yr  
of S.C. college consulted but  
(both I.A. + I.Sc) Samaresh Mukharji  
no name as  
could be traced. Ambedkar  
13/9.

72-

Memo no. 25566/S.640/45/sch dated 19.9.45

To, S.S.I. P.B.

Dear, In continuation of this office memo no. S.640/45/sch dated 31.8.

The particulars of Adhir Halder and Arun Sen, mentioned in item no. 4(h), have been ascertained from College records as follows:

✓  
Adhir Halder (18) - s/o Lali Rai Charan Halder of Vill. Harinkhana, Po. Bagerhat, Dt. Khulna. He is a 4<sup>th</sup> year B.A. Student of Vidyasagar College and stays at Vidyasagar Hostel at Cornwallis Street.

✓  
Arun Kumar Sen (21) - s/o Subodh Chandra Sen of Vill. Tepakhola, Dt. Faridpur & of T 164 D, Dakshindari, Po. Belgatchia, Calcutta. He is a 3<sup>rd</sup> year Science Student of City College.

Particulars of no. 8, mentioned in item no 4(h) could not be traced from College records.

H. Ray  
15.9.45.

yours sincerely  
H. Ray  
For D.C.S.B., Cal.

PLEDGE

On this Independence day, 26th January 1943 which falls in the midst of the great revolution that began on 9th August 1942, we pledge ourselves to the early and final overthrow of the usurper authority whose insecure continuance is based on bribe and murder. Until we have rid our country of this shame and horror and untill we have carried out our Declaration of freedom made at the beginning of this revolution, the Republic of India, We shall not rest but suffer and strive and struggle. Through all our travail and suffering we shall bear in mind the parting message of Gandhijis :-

Cause complete deadlock by strikes and all other non-violent means. Go the fullest length under Ahinsa, Do or Die".

Central Directorate.  
A. I. C.C.

LDR.



5 (C)

Intelligence Branch,  
13, Lord Sinha Road,  
Calcutta, the 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1945.

No. 35155  
Misc. Genl.

reply p. 74.

To  
Rai J.B. Bhattacharji Bahadur J.P.  
Deputy Commissioner of Police, II  
Special Branch, Calcutta.

Will you please refer to your Memo No. 21783/S.640/45/Sch.  
dated 27.8.45. and let me have a copy of your Memo No. 17635/S.640/  
45 Sch. dated 27.6.45. which does not appear to have been received  
in this office.

*W.C.* 158  
for Special Suput. of Police, I.B.

SGR/HB.  
15.9.45.



74  
Memo no. 25839/S.640/45/sch.  
dated 9.9.45.

To S. H. S. B.

Dear,

Ref. your memo no.

35155 dated 15.9.45.  
Misc. Genl

The copy of this office  
memo no. 17635/S.640/45/sch.  
dated 27.6.45 is attached  
sent herewith, as requested.  
vide your memo above

Encls

P. 33.

ML  
2/19  
H. R. S.  
19.9.45.

yours sincerely

W. H. S.  
For D. C. S. B. Cal.

Central Directorate.  
V. I. C. O. S. S. R.

look by strikes and all other  
the fastest path under which.

day, 26th January 1943 which  
pledge ourselves to the early  
the usurper authority whose  
based on crime and murder.  
country of this shame and horror  
led out our Declaration of  
thing of this revolution, the  
shall not rest but suffer and  
through all our travail and  
to mind the parting message

75.

Memo no. S.640/45/sch dated 29.10.45

To SS II D.B.

Dear,

Ref. to memo no. 29220(3)/

443-36 DEF/A.B. d. 28.7.45

Will you please let me know  
if the enquiries of item nos. 2, 3,  
4(a) and 4(c) of the secret orders  
of the house of Atul Krishna Bani  
at 25 Nilmani Mitra St., Cal.  
on 15.6.45, have since been  
completed if so copies of the  
enquiry reports may be forwarded  
to this office.

Yours Sincerely

W.D. 27/10/45  
F.O.D.C.S.B., Cal.

He. R. W.  
26.10.45

*original is at p. 47 of file S. 551/45*

76

Extracts from the search report re: and statement of  
Babu Atul Krishna Basu.

R.No. 17/80.  
8.19.6.

*include  
items 243  
on pages  
46 & 42.*

*not known  
by G.H.  
26.6.*

2) One copy of the Saboteur Strategy of the Constructive programme  
by Su. n Morarji published by Bolshavik-Leninist Party of India  
section of Fourth International.

3) One copy of For An Anti-Imperialist Left Front by Bolshevick-  
Leninist Party of India section of Fourth International.

Nos 2 & 3 found in an almirah in the north western corner  
room on the first floor.

I cannot say how I came by these books viz. "The  
Saboteur Strategy of the Constructive Programme" and "For An Anti-  
Imperialist Left Front" both published by Bolshevick-Leninist Party  
of India, Section of Fourth International. I presume somebody might  
have left them in my house I don't subscribe to the views put forward  
in these books.

INTELLIGENCE BRANCH,  
13, Lord Sinha Road  
Calcutta, the 18th June '45.

No. 23577  
443/36/DEF/AB.

Forwarded to Rai Bahadur J.B. Bhattacharji, J.P., Deputy  
Commissioner of Police, (2) Spl. Branch, Calcutta, for favour of a  
report if the books mentioned have come to his notice before.

*B. Banerji.*  
Sd/- Illegible.  
18.6.45.

for SPECIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, I.I

NJ.



*original sat p 50 of file S. 551/45*

77

Bengal Form No. 5.

Confidential.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,

Special Branch, 14, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta.

*communication should give the Number, Date and Subject of any previous communication.*

Memorandum No. 17180/S. 551/45, dated the 30. 6. 1945.

To Rai Sahib P.C. Mukharji, B.A.,  
Special Superintendent of Police, (V),  
Intelligence Branch, Bengal.

Reference your letter No. 23577/443 <sup>26/</sup>DEF/AB dated 19.6.45.

The books mentioned in your letter under reference have not come to our notice.

Sd/- C.S. Rahman. <sup>27.6.</sup>

For DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
Special Branch, Calcutta.

NJ.

*Atul M. Baner* 78  
Copy of Letter No. F.59/1945 dated the 11th October, 1945 from  
the Secretary to the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore to S.S.,  
I.B. Bengal. 79901

*9.640/45*  
*vide items*  
*2+3 on pages*  
*46+42.*  
I am directed to refer to your confidential endorsement  
No. 36232/443-36 Def/A.B. dated the 25th September 1945, and to  
say that there is no press called the "Modern Press" either at  
Mysore or Bangalore, nor has the book in question come to notice  
anywhere here.

INTELLIGENCE BRANCH,  
13, LORD SINHA ROAD,  
CALCUTTA, the 22nd NOVEMBER, 1945.

NO: 33071 /443-36/Def./A.B.

Copy forwarded to Rai J.B. Bhattacharji Banadur, J.P.,  
Deputy Commissioner of Police (2), Special Branch, CALCUTTA,  
for information with reference to this office Memo. No. 23577/443-36  
dated 18.6.45.

*17130 - S.S. 51/45*  
*copy taken in*  
*p. 76.*

*for SPECIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, I.B.*

BB/DSC:  
2.11.45.

*Confidential*

30063

INTELLIGENCE BRANCH,  
13, LORD SINHA ROAD,  
CALCUTTA, dated 7<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER, 1945.

NC: 39473 /443-36.

TO:

Rai J.B. Bhattacharji Bahadur, J.P.,  
Deputy Commr. of Police (2),  
Special Branch, CALCUTTA.

*P.75.*

Reference your Memo. No. S.640/45 Sca. dated 31.10.45.

*P.78.*

As regards items 2 and 3, attention is invited to this  
office Memo. No. 39071 dated 2.11.45. and as regards items 4(a)  
and 4(c), I write to inform you that no action was considered  
necessary. This was in connection with the case against Ajit  
Bose and others at Pari. Gangadhar mentioned therein is Gangadha  
Manapatra, a pleader of Pari.

*29/9/45*  
*5.11.45*  
*superseded*  
*vide*  
*P.40437.*

*9/11/45*  
for SPECIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, I.B.

BB/DSC:  
7.11.45.

Memo no. 30063/S.640/46/scr  
dated 1.11.45

To S.S. II & B.

Dear, Ref. your memo no. 39473/  
443-36 dated 7.11.45. P.79.

Will you <sup>kindly</sup> let me have  
your opinion <sup>regarding</sup> ~~about~~ the  
manner of disposal of all the  
articles, which were seized  
during the search of 25, Nilmoni  
Mitra Street, on 15.6.45.

Yours sincerely

H. K. Ray  
15.11.45.

C. S. B. S. B. Cal.  
17/11/45

H. K.  
15/11

81  
INTELLIGENCE BRANCH,  
13, Lord Sinha Road,  
CALCUTTA, 1 December, 1945.

3226  
Memo No. 443-36 (Def.-A.V.)

S.640/4  
To . Hsi J.B. Bhattacharji Bahadur, J.P.,  
Deputy Commissioner of Police, II,  
Special Branch, CALCUTTA. p 82

Reference your Memo No. 30063/S-640/45 Sch., dated  
22.11.45. The undersigned writes to state that the  
articles seized during the search of 23, Bilmoni Mitra  
Street on 15.6.45 may be kept on record.

*[Signature]*  
for SPECIAL SUPERINTENDENT. I.B.

BB/CB.  
1.12.45.



coming to my home I went with my sisters (Pampa and Ama) to his place at Milmond Bitter Street (number cannot remember) off Beaman Street near our Internity Home on my way back from a cinema show. After that I never met Atal Bahu nor he came to my place and since then I do not see or know any information of him.

Sd/- Ajit Kumar Roy  
21.6.45.

Recorded by me, read over and explained to the deponent and admitted by him to be correct.

Sd/- M.N. Ghosh.  
S.I.C.B.  
21.6.45.

Statement of Ajit Kumar Roy (27) @ Madan & Co. Late Jagannath  
 Krishna Roy of village Lakshmanpura, S. Kalia, St. Moravia  
 and of 6A Michael Butt Street, Kidderpore.

My name is - Ajit Kumar Roy. I am aged about 27 years. I was born in Kidderpore, Calcutta. I go to my native village very occasionally. I received education in Calcutta, passed the matriculation examination from St. Barnabas H.S. School Kidderpore in the year 1933. I read in the St. Xavier's College for 2 years in 1934 & 1935 but through illness I could not appear at the final examination. Then I took my admission in the Ashutosh College and passed B.Sc. from there in 1936 and immediately after that I have been serving in the City Line (Gladstone Syllie & Co.,) in the docks in the capacity of Head Clerk in the post of my deceased father who died in 1936. I have been living at 6A, Michael Butt Street for the last 10 years. The house was purchased by my father. I have the following dependents :-

1. Mrs. Sindhubala Devi (50) - approximately - widowed mother.
2. Mohit Kumar Roy (24) - younger brother - unmarried - an employee in Port Commissioner's Office as a clerk.
3. Mrs. Mandarani Bose (32) - married to Mr. Pashupati Bose of 12 Ramprasad Lane (3) and are employed in the Chartered Bank.
4. Mrs. Jagannath Mitra (29) married to Mr. Pravat Kumar Mitra of Ashutosh Street (No. not known) and of village Lakshmanpura, Joydebar Majilpur. a clerk in the British India Patrika office, city office.
5. Mrs. Santarani De (32) married to Mr. Kanai Lal De of Garia, Talpagan, an employee of B.E.C. (Magnet House)
6. Kusari Pampa Roy (19) - unmarried
7. " " Aya Roy (17) - unmarried
8. " " Ira Roy (14) - unmarried, a student of class VI in Kidderpore Girls H.S. School.

I am unmarried. My income is 2,100/- p.m. and my brother gets 2,40/- p.m.

I have no connection with politics. I am not a member of the Congress or any other political organisation nor was I ever in my life.

I occasionally went for a change of climate with my family and once alone. In 1934(?) I went to Benares with my family. In 1935 to Varanasi and in 1939 or 1940 to Deogarh. He stayed in Deogarh for a month and half during that time one day in a dancing party my family were acquainted with a lady who was subsequently known to be Atal Bapu's wife. At that time Atal Bapu was not in Deogarh. Due to my illness (piles) I was advised by my doctor to have a change. Accordingly in December 1934, I went to Deogarh alone leaving my family in Calcutta to look after my homestead in case of enemy bombing. In Deogarh at first I put up in a hotel where I was requested by one Shambhushank Bose with whom I was acquainted during my previous visit, to shift to his home because my whole family were friendly with his family. Accordingly I shifted to his home. Shambhushank Bose had a cycle shop where I used to spend my time. One day in that shop Shambhushank introduced me to Atal Krishna Bose who enquired me of my sisters and mother whom he had heard from his wife. He never saw myself or my family before. He then requested me to go to his place in Deogarh near Shambhushank Bose's home, which I did. I met his wife there and was introduced to her as Ajit Bapu's brother or son. In Deogarh I enjoyed Atal Bapu's association for about a week in the music scores, in his home and sometimes in the house of other local family of which one was B.S. Pal's home. The day I heard about the bombing in Kidderpore in December 1943, I left Deogarh on the following evening. Atal Bapu promised to come to my home at 6A Michael Butt Street on his return to Calcutta. I then gave him a sketch showing to go to 6A Michael Butt Street for from my home, as he never came to Kidderpore before. He once came to my home (6A Michael Butt Street) for 10 minutes. Sometimes in the middle of 1944 and then later after a brief talk with my mother and sister. After

Statement of Ajit Kumar Roy (27) S. Bagan s/o Late Chandradev  
Arimba Roy of village Lakshmanpore P.O. Balin, St. Burdwan  
and of 61 Michael Butt Street, Kinnerpore.

My name is - Ajit Kumar Roy. I am aged about 27 years. I was  
born in Kinnerpore, Calcutta. I go to my native village very occasion-  
ally. I received education in Calcutta, passed the Matriculation  
Examination from S.K. Sarmah H.S. School Kinnerpore in the year  
1933. I read in the St. Xavier's College for 2 years in 1934 &  
1935 but through illness I could not appear at the final examination.  
Then I took my admission in the Belur Math College and passed I.C.  
from there in 1936 and immediately after that I have been working  
in the City Line (Clarendon & Co.) in the books in the  
capacity of Head Clerk in the post of my deceased father who died  
in 1935. I have been living at 61, Michael Butt Street for the  
last 15 years. The house was purchased by my father. I have the  
following dependents:-

1. Smt. Bindubala Devi (50) (approximately) - widowed mother.
2. Mohit Kumar Roy (24) - younger brother - unmarried - an  
employee in Port Commissioner's Office  
as a clerk.
3. Smt. Bandanani Devi (32) - married to Mr. Panchapita Bose of  
12 Banerji Lane (1) and are employed in the Chartered Bank
4. Smt. Jagriti Mitra (29) married to Mr. Pravat Kumar Mitra  
of Bahadur Street (No. 20) and of village Mirzapur,  
Jyotsner Majilpur. a clerk in the Mirzapur Petrol  
office, city office.
5. Smt. Santarani Devi (28) married to Mr. Kunal Lal Devi of Garia,  
Tollygunge an employee of S.K.C. (Baghat House)
6. Kumari Purnima Roy (19) - unmarried
7. " Ira Roy (17) - unmarried
8. " Ira Roy (14) - unmarried, a student of class VI in  
Kinnerpore Girls H.S. School.

I am unmarried. My income is 2,140/- p.m. and my brother gets  
2,45/- p.m.

I have no connection with politics. I am not a member of the  
Congress or any other political organisation nor was I ever in my  
life.

I occasionally went for a change of climate with my family and  
once alone. In 1933/34 I went to Bagerhat with my family. In 1935 to  
Port Blair and in 1936 to 1940 to Bagerhat. He stayed in Bagerhat for a  
month and half during that time one day in a wedding party my family  
were entertained with a lady who was subsequently known to be Atul  
Babu's wife. At that time Atul Babu was not in Bagerhat. Due to my  
illness (piles) I was advised by my doctor to have a change. Accord-  
ingly in December 1934. I went to Bagerhat alone leaving my family in  
Calcutta to look after my homestead in case of any boating. In  
Bagerhat at first I put up in a hotel where I was requested by one  
Mahabalesh Bose with whom I was acquainted during my previous visit, to  
shift to his home because my whole family were friendly with his  
family. Accordingly I shifted to his home. Mahabalesh Bose had a  
cycle shop where I used to mend my cycle. One day in that shop Mahabalesh  
introduced me to Atul Krishna Bose who enquired me of my sisters and  
mother whom he knew from his wife. He never saw myself or my  
family before. He then requested me to go to his place in Bagerhat  
near Mahabalesh Bose's home, which I did. I met his wife there and was  
introduced to her as Ajit Kumar brother of Mrs. In Bagerhat I enjoyed  
Atul Babu's association for about a week in the music school, in his  
house and sometimes in the house of other local family of which one  
was S.K. Pal's house. One day I heard about the boating in Kinnerpore  
in December 1935. I left Bagerhat on the following evening. Atul  
Bose promised to come to my home at 61 Michael Butt Street on his  
return to Calcutta. I then gave him a sketch showing to go to 61  
Michael Butt Street far from Calcutta, as he never came to Kinnerpore  
before. He came once to my home (61 Michael Butt Street) for about  
10 minutes. Sometimes in the middle of the night I used to hear  
after a while of his wife's voice from the window.

coming to my home I went with my sisters ( Puspā and Lata ) to his place 87 Nilmoni Bitter Street ( number cannot remember ) off Seadan Street near one Sisterhood Home on my way back from a cinema show. After that I never met Abdul Kalam nor he came to my place and since then I do not see or know any information of him.

Sd/- Ajit Kumar Roy  
21.6.45.

Recorded by me, read over and explained to the deponent and admitted by him to be correct.

Sd/- K.K. Ghosh.  
S.I.B.E.  
21.6.45.

Further Statement of Ajit Kumar Roy s/o L. Jnanendra  
Krishna Roy of 6A Michael Matt Street, Alindergore.

I have no further statement to offer in addition to what I have already given before. I do not know any one by the names of Adhir Sen Gupta, Hemanta Kumar Bose, and Bejoy Bhattacharji or any one else who is connected with any political activities to the best of my knowledge I was never wanted or connected in any case political or criminal. I do not remember to have taken leave in the year 1942. I had never been in the town of Bardwan nor had I ever got down in the station of Bardwan in my life.

I never knew any one by the names Bishin Sarkar, Sumitra Singh and Seelaja Mitra.

I am not in any way connected with any political organisation as previously stated by me.

Sd/- Ajit Kumar Roy.  
22.6.45.

Recorded by me, read over to the  
deponent and admitted by him to be  
correct.

Sd/- K. N. Ghosh.  
22/6/45.

M.  
25.6.45.



Further Statement of Ajit Kumar Roy a/o L. Jnanendra  
Krishna Roy of 6A Michael Butt Street, Kidderpore.

I have no further Statement to offer in addition to what I have already given before. I do not know any one by the names of Adhir Ban Gupta, Hemanta Kumar Bose, and Dejoy Bhattacharji or any one else who is connected with any political activities to the best of my knowledge I was never wanted or connected in any case political or criminal. I do not remember to have taken leave in the year 1942. I had never been in the town of Burdwan nor had I ever got down in the station of Burdwan in my life.

I never know any one by the names Sachin Barker, Sumitra Singh and Sailaja Mitra.

I am not in any way connected with any political organisation as previously stated by me.

Sd/- Ajit Kumar Roy.  
22.6.43.

Recorded by me, read over to the  
deponent and admitted by him to be  
correct.

Sd/- K. B. Ghosh.  
22/6/43.

M.  
26.6.43.

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স্বাস্থ্য সেবাদল

নাম: ...

ঠিকানা: ...

তারিখ: ...

কর্মসূচী: ...

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স্থান: ১৯৮০

কোড: ১৯৮০

সংখ্যা: ১৯৮০

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(Mrs) Monika Duxson  
Washi House,  
P.O. Chandpur  
St. T.

25th Nov 1970

Youngs Press & Printers

2231stly

Shrimati M. Duxson  
15/6/71

(5)

Aug 1970

[illegible]



**FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEFT FRONT.**  
**An Appeal To The Left Forces In The Country**



By  
**Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India**  
**Section of the Fourth International**

Price Four Annas

## FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEFT FRONT.

### An Appeal To The Left Forces In The Country.

#### I

#### *The Coming Surrender-Settlement And The Crisis In Congress*

The present political situation in India is characterised by a pronounced swing of the Congress deeply to the Right in the setting of a worsening economic situation which must swing the masses ever more sharply leftward. Congress has taken so many steps on the road to a surrender-settlement with British Imperialism that none can doubt the direction in which it is moving. Congress is on the eve of a far-reaching settlement with British Imperialism (and the Muslim League withal) over the heads and at the expense of the masses. Moving from non-cooperation with British Imperialism and its war effort towards co-operation with both, Congress has moved from covert thwarting of the mass movement to its open betrayal. Therewith it has induced palpable strains and stresses within its own organisation.

Congress is the political party of the Indian bourgeoisie —this should be clear to the blindest today when the Congress Right Wing goes forward roughshod to tighten its organisational, political and ideological control over

Congress. However, Congress is also a heterogeneous mass organisation. It therefore reflects within itself with more or less directness not only the differences among rival competing bourgeois groupings but also, distortedly, the contradiction between the fundamental social classes of India. Congress is not an arena of the class struggle, *i. e.*, a national platform. But inasmuch as it is a mass organisation, it is a medium through which the class struggle is refracted. Hence, the strains and stresses induced within it by various political moves often have a more deep-going character than in the classic type of political party. They tend to constitute less the reflection of disagreements between various grouping within the same class as to the correctness of the given policy in the light of their common class interests, and more the refraction of the contradictions between various classes struggling for the furtherance of fundamentally opposed interests. This is the significance also of the present opposition within Congress to a surrender-settlement with British Imperialism on the basis of co-operation in the war effort and office-acceptance. It is a refraction of the resistance of the revolutionary classes in the country ( especially the peasantry ) to the sabotage of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The opposition of the Congress Left to the Congress Right on the issue of a surrender-settlement is no doubt conducted from the fundamentally false point of view that Congress is the united front of the nation in the struggle

is the effective medium of bourgeois control of the Congress). On the other hand they have realised the need for Congress to gain organisational, political and ideological control of the trade unions and kisan organisations. That is to say, the bourgeoisie are out today to ensure not only that their political instrument, the Congress, will be completely controlled by their accredited representatives *viz.*, the Congress Right Wing, but also that their accredited organisation, the Congress, will effectively control the mass movement. For Congress is the political instrument of the bourgeoisie for controlling the mass movement.

The bourgeoisie advances towards this twofold objective under the slogan : One Party, One Programme, One Leader. This slogan has the twofold import that Congress will not any longer tolerate within its ranks any organised groupings with a rival ideology (*e.g.*, the CSP and the Forward Bloc) and declares war on every mass organisation that does not owe it allegiance. Taken in the setting of the swing of Congress towards a surrender-settlement, however, the slogan gains an additional and potentially counter-revolutionary import. The settlement that Congress contemplates with imperialism will make it, not merely the facade behind which imperialism will operate, but the direct instrument of imperialist repression of the masses. Congress is to take office on the basis of working the constitution and supporting the war effort.

That is to say, Congress will become the police agent of the British Raj and the recruiting sergeant of its imperialist war. By necessary implication it must therefore drive against the revolutionary mass movement against imperialism and the imperialist war. (This indeed is the very consideration for the bourgeoisie's new contract of partnership with British Imperialism.) Accordingly, the drive of Congress to obtain control of the independent class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry takes on the significance of a move not against those who opposed the August movement but against the revolutionary mass movement itself for hamstringing it.

## IV

*Hands off the Trade Unions and Kisan Sabhas*

The move of the bourgeoisie to gain a grip on the kisan organisations through Congress has been carried far forward already by the launching of the Kisan Congress, not merely in rivalry to the Stalinist dominated Kisan Sabha but as an organisation within the orbit and as an appendage of Congress. In the case of the working class, whose mass organisations, the trade unions, have taken deep root, the move has taken a more indirect form. On the one hand, a widespread tendency is manifesting itself towards the formation of disguised Company Unions (more



The peril to the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle of bourgeois control of the class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry is thus manifest. Such control would signify the subordination of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of the proletariat and peasantry to the oppositional struggle of the bourgeoisie against their imperialist partners. It would signify even worse—as becomes manifest when two further considerations are brought to bear on the matter. The first is an obvious fact, *viz.*, that the native bourgeoisie are as direct exploiters of the proletariat as the imperialists. They are class foes. The second is the fact of the tie-up between the bourgeoisie and feudalists through mortgages, etc. This makes of the bourgeoisie, not the ally of the peasantry in their struggle against feudal survivals, but their foe. To hand over the control of the class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry to the bourgeoisie is therefore to hand them over, bound hand and foot, to their class enemy. It is class capitulation ; not class struggle.

Let no Left Congressman be deceived in this matter by the Masanis, Meherallys, Rangas, and their ilk. These self-acclaimed " leaders " of the Congress Left have capitulated in advance to the Right Wing and have become its veritable hirelings in giving a " left " cover to its reactionary policy. Their argument that the class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry need to be brought under Congress control *in order to advance the struggle*

*against imperialism* is outrageously false, as their attempt to cover their retreat to the bourgeois camp with a smoke-screen of attack on "Communism" is outrightly treacherous. For, the move of the Congress to gain control of the class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry is, as we have seen, but the form of the effort of the bourgeoisie to hamstring them. And the attack of the bourgeoisie and their hirelings on the degenerate and treacherous Communist Party of India (*i.e.*, the Stalinist renegades from Marxism) is, as we shall see, but the form of their reactionary attack on revolutionary Communism itself, *i.e.*, the revolutionary theory and practice of the anti-capitalist class struggle. Moreover, it is on these very class organisations and class forces (*i.e.*, the proletariat and peasants and their independent class organisations) that the Congress Left Wing itself will have to rely in the main in its struggle against the Congress Right. To abandon them to Right Wing control from the beginning, which is what Congress control of these organisations would mean, would be to abandon the struggle itself against the Right Wing in advance.

The task of defending the trade unions and kisan movements cannot certainly be left to their present capitulationist bureaucratic leadership. This leadership has, in the first place, split sharply within itself in the face of the bourgeois offensive, especially on the kisan front. Secondly, even where, as in the trade union field, no open

or less on the model of the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association) whether as a means to preventing independent unionisation or in rivalry to independent unions. On the other hand, there has been formed the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh, controlled by irremovable Congress tops, which seeks to penetrate the working class by the twofold method of bringing together "labour workers" on a reactionary basis and of drawing in "Associate Unions", which accept the HMSS's reactionary principles (adherence to non-violence, acceptance of arbitration, etc., etc.).

There can be no doubt that this move of the Congress is a direct threat to the independent class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry. The question, it must be stressed, is not one of "Unity" as the Stalinists allege ; it is a question of the *independence* of the class organisations of the workers and peasants. That is the issue which has to be fought, regardless of whether it is posed in the form of rival organisations or in the form of rival policies within "united" organisations. The issue is not unity of peasant or worker organisations but their class independence of the bourgeoisie. That is to say, the issue is not merely an organisational issue ; it is a fundamental political issue, a form of expression of the class struggle.

The need for defending the independence (from bourgeois control) of the class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry arises from no more tactital considerations

but from the abiding interests of the anti-imperialist struggle itself. The proletariat and the peasantry constitute the two main revolutionary forces in India. The peasantry in their struggle to free themselves of the semi-feudal fetters that shackle them, and the proletariat in their struggle for socialism, both run up directly against the imperialist state power, which they must overthrow on the road to their social emancipation. The carrying forward of the anti-imperialist struggle is therefore to them a matter of life and death. It is far otherwise with the bourgeoisie. Partners with foreign imperialism in the capitalist exploitation of the country, they have in this respect an interest in common with imperialism against the proletariat and peasantry. This community of imperialist-bourgeois interest is more deep-going and fundamental than the contradiction of interests between the bourgeoisie and the imperialists arising from their mutual competition for the exclusive control of the home market (*i.e.*, the exploitation of the Indian toilers). The contradiction between the imperialist-bourgeois exploiters and revolutionary toilers is a contradiction between *different and hostile* classes and leads to the counter-revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie in the revolution. The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the imperialists is a contradiction *within the same class* (the capitalist class) which can lead at best only to an oppositional role. And that is the role of the Indian bourgeoisie in relation to imperialism.

Stalinism and Royism derives from the contradiction between the interests of the respective patrons they seek to serve in India. Stalinism, the expression of the social interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, seeks to enter the service of the native bourgeoisie as their cooly in the working class. Royism, the endeavour to provide British Imperialism with a mass base in India, is hostile to the native bourgeoisie. The features common to Stalinism and Royism derive similarly from the identity of interest of their respective patrons as against the masses. The Soviet bureaucracy is in alliance with British Imperialism ; the Indian bourgeoisie are the junior partners of British Imperialism & Co. The Stalinists therefore serve British Imperialism ; only, unlike the Royists, they seek to harmonise the interests of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists through the device of a "National Government" within the framework of imperialism which will, on the one hand, give political expression to the economic partnership of the bourgeoisie and imperialists for the exploitation of the masses, and, on the other hand, confine the interplay of their rivalry politically to the field of constitutional politics. Thus Stalinism and Royism are at one in their hostility to the mass movement and mass struggle, and in their support of imperialism and the imperialist war. They are also at one in their support of the Soviet bureaucracy—with this difference, however, that while the Stalinists come to their support of imperialism from their



support of the Soviet bureaucracy, the Royists come to their support of the Soviet bureaucracy from their support of the imperialists. Since, moreover, their basic difference derives from the contradiction in the interests of the native bourgeoisie and the imperialists, *i.e.*, of different sections of the capitalist class, they are also at one in that their revisionism tends also to liquidationism. Marxism with both is only a cloak for bourgeois apologetics.

The struggle against Stalinism and Royism is a struggle for the restoration of Marxism. There is, however, another variant of petty bourgeois revisionism in India which bases itself entirely on the patronage of the native bourgeoisie and therefore seeks a reconstruction of Marxism through the injection into it of a re-interpreted Gandhism. This is the school of thought associated with the name of M. R. Masani, and may be defined as the ideology of that section of the petty bourgeoisie which is more directly linked, through employment, trade, etc., with the native capital than with imperialism. It seeks to rationalise its self-adaptation to the Indian bourgeoisie and to cover its retreat from Marxism by purporting to see in the Gandhian method of non-violence, class-collaboration and moral reform the sole effective mechanics of social change on the way to the Marxist ideal of a classless and non-exploitive society. Its revision of Marxism is therefore more open, its abandonment of the Marxist

## VII

*The Defence of Marxism*

The struggle against Gandhism for the continuation of the struggle against imperialism and the imperialist war is only part of a struggle on a wider front which urgently faces proletarian revolutionaries in India today. This is the struggle in defence of Marxism against revisionism and counter-revolution.

With the outbreak of the Second Imperialist World War and the involvement therein of the Soviet Union, revisionism has been on the rampage in India. On the one hand, Stalinism, *i.e.*, the revision of Marxism in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, has gained a new lease of strength, at first from the instinctive sympathy of the world's oppressed for the Soviet Union in distress, and later from the prestige accruing to the Soviet bureaucracy from the Red Army's smashing victories against German Fascism. On the other hand, Royism, *i.e.*, pseudo-Marxism in the service of British Imperialism, has gained a certain popularity among that section of the petty bourgeoisie which has benefited from war-time employment and competes for continued imperialist patronage. These two main currents of Marxist revisionism in India have features which distinguish them from each other as well as features in common. The basic distinction between

## VI

### *For an Anti-Imperialist Left Front*

The struggle against imperialism therefore demands today a struggle by the anti-imperialist Left on the following program :—

**Against the Gandhian constructive program : for revolutionary mass struggle.**

**Against the attempt to bring trade unions and Kisan Sabhas under bourgeois control or domination : for organisation of the workers and peasants on an independent class basis.**

**Immediate release of all political prisoners.**

**Immediate repeal of all repressive legislation.**

**No compromise with Imperialism.**

**Opposition to the Imperialist war.**

Around this program the anti-imperialist Left in India can and must unite. The BLPI therefore calls upon all organisations of the Left, be they within Congress or outside, to unite around this program in a common front—the ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEFT FRONT—against the developing imperialist-bourgeois offensive, for the continuation of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and the imperialist war.

AT

against imperialism and therefore an organisation capturable for employment to their own ends by class forces hostile to the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, as opposition by the Congress Left to a surrender-settlement is, in the present circumstances, opposition by them to betrayal of the mass movement by Congress itself, and therefore constitutes a defence of the mass movement, their opposition to the Congress Right on this issue is progressive. As such, it is the duty of the revolutionary proletarian party to assist the struggle of the Congress Left against the Congress Right on the following issues :—

**Against a surrender-settlement and to the settlement itself when it comes, i. e., No Compromise With Imperialism.**

**Against office-acceptance and, in the event of office-acceptance (whether in the Provinces or at the Centre), For the Immediate Release of ALL Political Prisoners and the IMMEDIATE Repeal of All Repressive Legislation.**

**Against co-operation in the war effort.**

A struggle by the Congress Left around these issues would be service to the anti-imperialist struggle and would also strengthen the organised revolutionary forces in the country in two ways. On the one hand, the Congress Left, in struggle against the Right, would tend to look out-wards for aid to, and link itself with, the organised revolutionary forces outside as make-weight to its own organisational weakness and the overwhelming

strength of the Right. On the other hand, since the road to open betrayal of the mass movement by Congress is the road to self-exposure of its class nature, one outcome of such a struggle would also be the disillusionment of the better elements among the Congress Left not merely with the Congress Right but with Congress itself. Both these outcomes of such a struggle can only serve to strengthen the revolutionary forces in the country.

## II

### *The task of the Left and their duty.*

However, the struggle of the Congress Left against the Congress Right on the above issues is only a part of the task that faces the Congress Left itself in the present circumstances ; even as assistance to the struggle of the Congress Left against the Congress Right is only a part of the task that the present political situation poses before the revolutionary forces outside Congress. The moves of the Congress Right towards a surrender-settlement with British Imperialism are accompanied also by a simultaneous series of moves within Congress itself and outside, which, taken together, constitute a direct political, organisational and ideological onslaught on the revolutionary mass movement in India. What these moves are, and their motivation, meaning and significance, we set out



below ; as also the tasks they pose before the anti-imperialist forces in the country. It is necessary, however, to state at the very outset that it is just as much the duty of all anti-imperialist Left forces in the country, including that section of them which is within the Congress fold, to unite in action to resist the onslaught, as it is their urgent task to resist this onslaught itself.

### III

#### *The Developing Bourgeois Offensive Against The Mass Movement*

The August 1942 movement taught the Indian bourgeoisie the important lesson that the political consciousness of the masses, which the very struggle the bourgeoisie had launched in the past has helped to develop, had now reached a level that directly imperilled their former control of the mass movement through Congress. Whereas the previous mass struggles led by Congress had tended to overflow the limits set by Congress only in the course and at the height of their development, the '42 struggle broke these bounds from the very outset at least in the sense of being outrightly violent. What is more, this violence was widely sponsored by Left elements within the Congress itself. Further, the failure especially of the working class to come actively into the struggle, largely

because of the pull, away from the movement, of the established organisations of the working class, as also the opposition of the Kisan Sabha to the movement, brought home to the bourgeoisie in a new way the danger to the Congress of the existence of independent class organisations of the workers and peasants. It illustrated, though negatively to be sure, that the latent threat of the mass movement developing along lines of the class struggle and, therefore, passing out of the control of the bourgeoisie was now much more immediate than the past. Had the working class organisations in particular, and the Kisan Sabhas in lesser measure, come into the '42 movement, there is every possibility that the masses would have more clearly impressed the movement with their own demands and so, tended to have passed more definitely out of bourgeois control than in the limited sense of being violent. In that event the mass movement would probably have directed itself not only more resolutely against imperialism, *ie.*, for its overthrow, but also at an early stage against the landlords and the native bourgeoisie (*e.g.*, land seizures in the countryside and militant strikes in the towns).

From the August '42 movement, therefore, the bourgeoisie have drawn a twofold conclusion. On the one hand they have learnt the necessity to tighten up the Congress organisation in the sense of more effectively subjecting the rank and file to control from the top (which

postulates more direct and its social purpose more obvious than that of the Stalinists and Royists. It has therefore as much the character of an attack on Marxism as a revision of it. It is indeed a bridge from Marxist revisionism to anti-Marxist Gandhism.

The contraposition of Gandhism to Marxism is the main line of the direct attack on Marxism in India. Gandhism is the philosophy of the belated Indian bourgeoisie caught in the vise of imperialism above and rising revolution below in the conditions of general capitalist decline. It exactly serves the bourgeois perspective of pressure—politics, *i.e.*, the bringing to bear upon imperialism, in order to compel it to concessions, of the pressure of the mass movement, while at the same time controlling the latter to keep it within non-revolutionary bounds. Idealising the past, in which it purports to see the mirror of the future, Gandhism serves the established social system by denying the necessity for social revolution and attributing society's evils to the evil nature of man. Basing itself on the creed of non-violence, it protects the established violence of class society by denying to the oppressed the use of violence against the established system. Denying the class struggle, it bases itself on class conciliation, thereby serving the exploiters against the exploited. Gandhism is thus the very negation of Marxism. The defence of Marxism therefore demands a relentless attack on Gandhism which can

indeed be attacked effectively only on the basis of Marxism.

The defence of Marxism, however, demands more than a restoration or re-statement of Marxism and an attack on Gandhism. It demands the re-establishment, the proof anew, of Marxism itself. The attack on Marxism in India reflects not only Indian conditions but world conditions. It is part of the attack of world capitalism-imperialism on the proletarian revolutionary movement and the Soviet Worker's State. This attack has been facilitated throughout the world by the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Worker's State, just as it has been facilitated in India by the betrayal of the anti-imperialist struggle by the Communist Party of India. Dexterously identifying Stalinism with Marxism, and the Soviet bureaucracy with the Soviet Worker's State, the counter-revolutionary ideologues of decadent capitalism advance to the attack on Marxism and the Soviet Worker's State. To this the Stalinist apologists have no effective reply, for they themselves make this identification, though, of course, for different ends. The only effective reply to this line of attack is an honest analysis, in the light of the genuine criteria of Marxism, of the Soviet Union, which is a degenerate worker's state. This task, as indeed the general task of the defence of Marxism against all attacks direct and indirect, only Bolshevik-Leninists, *i.e.*, Trotskyists,

the application of the repressive laws is being relaxed for the Right it is being tightened up against the Left. It is therefore a matter of life and death for the anti-imperialist left to fight for the immediate release of *all* political prisoners and for the *immediate* repeal of all repressive legislation. For the struggle on these issues too they can and must unite *right now* and not only after a Raj-Congress settlement.

Secondly, the anti-imperialist left is today faced with the necessity of a fight for the very defence of revolutionary methods and perspectives of struggle. The bourgeoisie have launched a terrific political and ideological offensive against the very idea of revolution and revolutionary methods. This has taken the form, politically, of the advancement again to the forefront of a refurbished version of Gandhi's "Constructive Program", and ideologically of a general resuscitation and militiant propagation of Gandhism as an alternative to revolutionary socialism, *i.e.*, Marxism.

It is material to note that the "Constructive Program" is not advanced by Congress to day as a means to reviving the revolutionary mass struggle for independence. On the contrary, it is put forward as an alternative road to freedom, a substitute for the revolutionary mass struggle. Therein lies its saboteur character and its reactionary content. Revolution is the only way to overthrow imperialism, and overthrow is itself the only means to end



imperialism. To substitute for this the perspective of bringing about a voluntary devolution of power through a change of heart of the oppressor induced by the self-flagellation of the oppressed is to substitute utopia for reality, and therefore to strengthen imperialism. The "Constructive Program" has to be fought, not merely on ground of its insufficiency, but much more on the ground of its falsity, *i.e.*, of its abandonment of and self-substitution for the revolutionary mass struggle.

The "Constructive Program" sustains itself on the reactionary Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and class collaboration. It is impossible to fight against the program without fighting against the ideology in which it is rooted. Non-violence, in a society based on violence, constitutes self-adaptation to violence and not opposition to it. Class collaboration, in a society based on class exploitation, constitutes self-subordination of the exploited to their exploiters. Non-violence and class-collaboration in an imperialist-dominated India therefore constitute self-adaptation and self-subordination to imperialist domination and exploitation, not struggle for their overthrow. Gandhism is becoming the spear-head of the bourgeois-imperialist offensive against the revolutionary movement in India.

split has taken place but, on the contrary, an apparent drawing together, this drawing together has been on the basis of self-adaptation to the enemy and not of struggle against it. Thus, at the last Trade Union Congress session, all groups of the bureaucratic tops came together on the common political basis of support for a "National Government". Since this is to be within the imperialist structure, it is plain that it can mean only a government of the united native exploiters in alliance with and in the service of foreign imperialism against the masses. Only the Stalinists, because the present organisational moves of Congress threaten them with envelopment and isolation, have taken alarm. But their call poses the question falsely as one of *unity* of the mass organisations of the anti-imperialist classes and not of their *class independence*. These agents of imperialism and would-be agents of the native bourgeoisie within the working class cannot by their very nature either pose the question correctly or conduct a consistent struggle against the bourgeoisie, even when their own bureaucratic interests are threatened. They cannot lead the workers; they can only mislead them.

The task of the defence of these organisations against the bourgeois offensive, therefore, devolves exclusively upon genuine fighters against imperialism in India, whose elementary duty such a task anyhow is. But their forces are weak numerically and organisationally, both relatively (to their opponents) and absolutely (in relation to their

tasks). Only by agreement among themselves for united and co-ordinated action, together, and with the militants in the trade union and kisan movements, can they carry on an effective struggle against the bourgeois offensive.

## V

### *Against The Gandhian Constructive Program: For The Revolutionary Mass Struggle*

The need for the anti-imperialist Left to unite in a common front does not arise, however, only or even mainly from the need to defend the independent class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry. It has a deeper root and a wider basis. It derives from the very needs of the anti-imperialist struggle, *i.e.*, the struggle against imperialism and the imperialist war. For, with the defeat of the August struggle and the rapprochement between the Congress and the Raj, the task of the hour in India is the defence of the revolutionary mass movement generally and of the anti-imperialist Left itself against the developing offensive of the growing bourgeois-imperialist alliance.

In the first place, the impending Raj-Congress settlement is coming at the expense not only of the masses generally but of the anti-imperialist Left in particular. While the collaborationists are being released the revolutionary-minded militants are being rounded up. While

can consistently and effectively perform today. For Trotskyism is contemporary Marxism, the heir and continuator of Bolshevism in the era of proletarian revolution and revolutionary wars. Consequently, the defence of Marxism demands the militant propaganda of Trotskyism. Upon the BLPI, the organised expression of the Trotskyist movement in India, falls the responsibility of rising to the stature of this task.

**Bureau of the Central Committee,  
Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India  
Section of the Fourth International.**

**20th May, 1945.**

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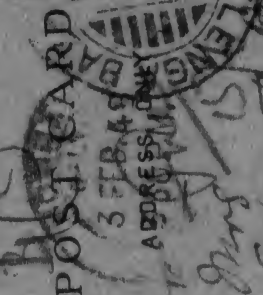
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પાયણુતી, મુ'બઈ, ૩.

રેશનીંગ કાર્ડ નં.

નામ

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Dear Mrs Banerjee.

Puri  
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Your telegram today which  
has been replied immediately.  
The case of Majors others was  
fixed up for to day for arguments,  
evidence having gone into during  
the last 3 days. The case  
appears to us a good one for  
acquittal in view of decisions  
of Calcutta & Bombay High Courts  
in 1943 & 1944 respectively.  
They have been charged w/R. 34  
class 'A' D. J. R. for which  
the penal clause is R. 39.  
Out of the entire good number  
of books found in their  
possession, they have been charged  
for two leaflets and one  
book "Bipl Bhareter Biplaker  
Bhara" although there are  
not yet ~~proof~~ proscribed.  
However we have done our  
bit for them. It is now  
for the Court to decide  
the case on merits on  
1st March 1945 when the  
judgment will be delivered.  
The young men are

being well in custody.

With regards  
yours truly  
Sushapata  
phader,  
for the animal  
museum.

Srimati Prabasini Banerjee  
Hosur.

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Dear Sir,  
I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above subject.  
In reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the appropriate authorities for their consideration.  
I am, Sir, very truly,  
Yours faithfully,  
[Signature]  
[Name]  
[Address]  
[City]

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Sundar Lal

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Mon - Hemu Sen + Debalata Mazumder

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Wed - Satu + Samalish Mukherjee

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Fri - Hemu Sen + Debalata Mazumder

Sat - Satu + Samalish Mukherjee.

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Samir Mukherjee  
15/6/12



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— Tuesday, Sat.
3. Narayan Das — Vidyasagar — Alipore  
— Tuesday, Sat.
- ✓ 4. ~~Shivra Bose~~ — — Howrah  
— mon, fri, Sat.
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17. Manjuri — —
18. Dhira Bose — — 6<sup>th</sup>
19. Panna Kall

6/6 Aug 1966

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My dear sister

My dear Sister,  
I received all your letters. The last petition on  
Moral Reform Socy. on the 1st Inst. It was rejected  
as useless when was not done. After the close of investigation  
on the 1st again the last petition was again pressed but  
it was not kept. ~~the petition~~ (the petition) for heat  
rejected. But the Socy has been 17th. I have been  
I have promised us to show the trial before the end of the  
month. So we have been 2 other committees the undertaking  
was not to waste on every one but as the word put  
then to put the money in running down for Calcutta.  
The Socy as it appears with one stand. However we are not  
on the 1st before the Socy. say did you send money to me.  
I am sending back the money to you.

25 FEB 1945



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**THE  
SABOTEUR STRATEGY  
OF THE  
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM**

*BY*

**SUREN MORARJI.**

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**ANNAS**

## THE SABOTEUR STRATEGY OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

It is not generally recognised how clearly Gandhi epitomises the backwardness of India. Nor is it at all conceded how shrewdly he exploits that backwardness. Notwithstanding 23 years of cob-weaving around it, the Constructive Program satisfactorily demonstrates this relationship. Our analysis will bring it out more sharply.

### THE PROGRAMME IN A NUT-SHELL

The centre of the Constructive Program, says Gandhi, is "always the charkha around which all activities revolve." Inasmuch as politics is in the final analysis governed by economics, Gandhi is undoubtedly correct. The charkha is the centre of the Constructive Program because the charkha ( in conjunction with all other implements in the primitive wooden family ) constitutes, together with the land and the cow, the main means of production in Gandhian society. Charkha economics determines charkha politics. Hence "all other activities revolve around it." We, however, are reluctant to leave things at that. We perceive certain inconsistencies in the way in which charkha politics has been formulated. We suspect that this brand of politics has not been entirely spun on the charkha ; that better spindles and more powerful looms have had something to do with its creation. While, therefore, we accept that the charkha forms the basis of the Constructive Program, we must pick out two other features of this program ( Communal Goodwill and Social Service ) which we regard as only of slightly less impor-

The program, however, has deep-going political implications. In the first place, it represents a carefully camouflaged endeavour to distract the attention of the middle and lower strata of the peasantry from the lands of the zamindar and rich peasant. This is a preliminary indication of its bourgeois counter-revolutionary character. In the epoch of capitalist ascendancy the necessity to unify and expand the internal market, as well as to release the productive forces from the feudal productive relations which fettered them, drove the bourgeoisie to liberate the peasants from the land-lords and thus to convert both land and labour into marketable commodities. Today, in the epoch of imperialism, the epoch of capitalist decline, the bourgeoisie can no longer play this liberationist role. Capital and land, capitalist and landlord, are too closely intertwined for either to entertain homicidal intentions in regard to the other. The Indian bourgeoisie will not interfere with property relations on the land. The Indian peasant must not be encouraged to covet his landlord's land. If he does not have sufficient land to dig even a miserable existence from, he must be taught to look elsewhere for succour. And there, for the bourgeoisie, begins the messianic role of the Mahatma and his charkha.

But the charkha and gram udyog program plays a more positive role in the service of the bourgeoisie. "Khadi" says the Mahatma in his pamphlet on the Constructive Program, "means a wholesale swadeshi mentality, a determination to find all the necessities of life in India." The charkha is thus the political emblem of the Indian bourgeoisie in the same sense that the hammer is the emblem of the working class and the sickle that of the

peasantry. Small wonder that it is so boldly emblazoned on the bourgeois "national" flag ! The charkha and gram udyog program is a powerful political weapon in the economic struggle of the Indian bourgeoisie against imperialism. It is a *substitute* for the dangerous and incalculable method of the mass struggle. It established the native bourgeoisie on its feet especially after the boycott campaign of the early twenties. Can anyone wonder, that despite the yearly out-turn of hundreds of thousands of yards of the finest spun cloth in their own mills, the textile mill-owning millionaires are the most habitual wearers of the coarsest khadi ? We will not of course mention that these devotees of the charkha have even taken to the production of "khadi" in their mills !

What Gandhi calls the centre of his Constructive Program ( the little wooden machine that spins his webs for the imperialists, his sophistries for the intelligentsia and his clap-trap for the masses ) is none other than the centre of the bourgeois struggle for control over the internal market and the mass movement : a treacherous, reactionary and utopian device to frustrate a fundamental mass urge in the guise of pandering to it. That urge is the urge of the peasantry to overthrow existing property relations on the land as a means to emancipating themselves from the choking tyranny of the world market.

### Communal Goodwill

The masses cannot wait until the Mahatma constructs his pattern of freedom for them on his charkha. Freedom, for them, is neither a mere slogan nor a desirable ideal. Freedom, for them, is an imperative necessity—to do away as speedily as possible with all forms of exaction,



exploitation and tyranny. While the charkha spun on, the cauldron of mass revolt was on the boil.

The communal problem is in essence an expression of this phenomenon. Its very virulence is an index to the turbulence of mass discontent. Its distorted appearance does not negate the fact that, at root, it is an expression of the class struggle.

The land-owning upper classes of India and the more subservient section of the native bourgeoisie had no reason to conceal their alarm at the depth and power of the mass movement which the nationalist bourgeoisie attempted to harness to their class needs. The Muslim upper classes in particular ( they were more parasitical in proportion as they lacked a big industrial bourgeoisie ) feared the accumulating wrath of the Muslim peasantry in the countryside and the vast mass of unemployed and under-employed petty bourgeoisie in the towns. The powers and privileges they derived from their alliance with British Imperialism were, moreover, endangered by the political aspirations of the nationalist bourgeoisie. It was necessary to attack the mass movement—for an attack on the mass movement would not only disorient the masses but would equally weaken the only sanction of the bourgeoisie against imperialism. That attack took the form of Muslim communalism, drugged with separatist demands, and delivered through the intellectual medium of the job-hunting Muslim intelligentsia.

Muslim communalism was in fact the solution of the Muslim upper classes to the sharpening class antagonisms of Indian society. In form it was a piercing flank attack

on the anti-imperialist mass movement. Every betrayal of the mass struggle by its leaders was a signal for a communal counter-offensive, leading to further disorientation and prostration of the masses. Communalism thus became a powerful weapon in the hands of the imperialists. Every defeat, every betrayal, every postponement of the anti-imperialist struggle widened the communal rift and strengthened the communalists. But inasmuch as the crisis of imperialist society in India cannot be solved under its aegis and every defeat of the masses is an education for the future, the gathering proportions of mass revolt had reduced the communalists to greater and more complete dependence on the imperialists. So complete is this dependence that the liquidation of the communal problem can only ensue on the prior liquidation of imperialism in India.

Muslim communalism also derived an initial impulse and sustained impetus from the reactionary politics of bourgeois nationalism. Rationalism was the philosophy of the bourgeoisie needing to liberate the peasantry from the control of a feudal church in the period of capitalism's rise. In the epoch of the decline of capitalism the bourgeoisie need not to liberate but to harness the peasantry to their yoke. Hindu revivalism is the philosophy of one such bourgeoisie, for Hinduism has had no peer in its ability to inhibit the most fundamental urges of the masses. Hence, under Lokmanya Tilak, the real ancestor of hysterical Hindu communalism, bourgeois nationalism took on a decidedly Hindu colouration. In the hands of Gandhi the process was further extended and deepened. It was a simple sadhu that bourgeois nationalism dangled before the masses of the peasantry, who flocked in their

hundreds and thousands *to receive his dharshan*. It mattered little to the illiterate Muslim masses that the sadhu was able to recite the Koran or quote from the Bible. That sort of dope they could get in higher quality and greater quantity within their own mosques.

Himself responsible to a certain extent for the strengthening Muslim communalism, the Mahatma aspires to solve by religious methods what is in essence an expression of the class struggle and in form a political counter-attack. His method is that of "unbreakable heart unity." The communal problem to him is not a strategical problem in the setting of the anti-imperialist campaign. It is not an imperialist counter-attack on the mass movement. It is a personal problem. The hearts of both Hindus and Muslims are somehow not in the right place. They have first to set their hearts right so that there may no more be "Hindu water or Muslim tea."

As always, the religious formulation conceals a political manoeuvre. The endeavour is to find an agreed formula between the landlords and princes of the Muslim League and the industrial bourgeoisie of the Congress—a formula which will divide the spoils of office under imperialist patronage and thus present a united front of the exploiters, in control of the armed resources of the State, against the accumulating forces of mass revolt below. One failure, or two, to win the Qaid-e-Azam does not discourage the Mahatma. While the masses keep straining to get their hearts into place he is at least certain that real unity will be prevented—unity of the *masses against their exploiters* along the lines of the class struggle.

## Social Service

Neither the charka manoeuvre of Gandhi, nor the communal manoeuvre of imperialism can halt *for one single moment* the process of the class struggle. And though the Mahatma may refuse to recognise the class struggle, the class struggle never fails to recognise the Mahatma. Kind and sensitive man that he is, he cannot ignore that recognition. He winks back at it, in the form of social service. Social service is Gandhi's answer to the class struggle. He continually warns against "violent and bloody revolution." He preaches ( to the poor masses, to be sure ! ) "voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give." Meantime he advises the masses to live at peace with their masters, i.e., to collaborate with their exploiters. To help the masses to accept his advice he has his program of social service.

We are not here concerned with the motivation of humanitarian social service. The Mahatma's heart may be as bottomless as the caverns of hell—in its sympathy for the poor. We are here concerned to demonstrate the reactionary social orientation of humanitarianism itself. Inasmuch as the class struggle is fundamental to class-society and ineradicable within it, the attempt to moderate its harshness on the exploited classes, and by these means to distract their attention from it, is not only futile but is to enter into the service of the exploiters themselves. If Gandhist society is the same thing as the egalitarian society, the social objective must be not to subject the masses to *less* exploitation, but to free them from exploitation *altogether*. The latter is certainly not the object of the Mahatma. He thereby demonstrates

how completely he is in the service of the bourgeoisie. Sweet faces and angel graces are not beyond "riches and the power that riches give."

## ROLE OF NON-VIOLENCE

One feature in common all three principles of the Constructive Program contain: in the guise of serving a fundamental urge of the masses, each of them seeks to frustrate it. The charkha pretends to serve the desire of the peasantry to emancipate themselves from the world market but fastens over them the strangle-hold of the native bourgeoisie and ultimately, of the very world market they were seeking to avoid. Communal heart unity pretends to lay down the basis for a united offensive of the masses against British imperialism, whereas in reality it deflects the masses away from the anti-imperialist struggle and fastens the death-grip of imperialism over them. Social service aspires to elevate the economic and cultural level of the masses but in reality perpetuates the system of semi-fendal exploitation that holds them down. This common feature is not directly attributable to deliberate deceit on the part of the Mahatma. We do not know, nor do we care, whether even indirectly it is so. What is pertinent is that the manifest contradiction between object and result springs from the single unifying factor in the whole distraught philosophy of Gandhism—*non-violence*. For, says the oracle himself, "the constructive program may otherwise and more fittingly be called construction of Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence by truthful and non-violent means." The Constructive Program is the non-violent road to swaraj. The basic unifying force of the whole

Constructive Program, as of the whole theory and practice of Gandhism, is non-violence.

Force or violence is the final sanction of law. The imperialist state is organised violence. To overthrow the imperialist state is to counterpose to its own violence a superior violence. This superior violence can only come from the intervention of a foreign state or by the intervention of the masses on the political arena. Revolution is the method of the defeat of the violence of the state by the superior violence of the masses. Truly does the Mahatma characterise revolution as "violent and bloody."

Non-violence is defined by the Mahatma as "a process of conversion." In other words, non-violence is concerned with the individual, not with the system. To the violence of the imperialist state ( the Mahatma once called it "leonine" ) non-violence replies with moral pressure on the state official. It tries to "change the heart" of the state official, i.e., to move him to pity, and thence to understanding, by self-suffering. Thus, non-violence does not challenge the authority of the imperialist state, but seeks to change its manifestations. By denying the right of the masses to counterpose their own violence to the violence of the state ( the final sanction of all laws ), non-violence subordinates the masses to the authority ( i.e., violence ) of the imperialist state. The method of non-violence ( apart from its political content ) is at best *reformist, not revolutionary*. That is to say, it operates *entirely within the imperialist system*. Whatever the phraseology of its advocates, non-violence *cannot* seek to *overthrow* the imperialist system.



the Constructive Program seeks also to sabotage the mass struggle from *within*, to destroy the existing class organisations of the masses. The Constructive Program has, therefore, recently been extended. Separate programs have been prescribed for workers, for kisans and for students, so that each of them may contribute to the "construction of swaraj". It is not necessary here to deal with these in detail. Suffice it to say that "construction of swaraj" means today, in 1945, for the Mahatma,

- (a) the destruction of the class independence of the trade unions, through the "construction" of rival company unions ( as at Ahmedabad ) and the enticement of functioning unions away from the Trade Union Congress into the openly class-collaborationist Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh.
- (b) the smashing of the class independence of the kisan sabhas through the "construction" of a Kisan Congress, dominated and controlled by the National Congress, i.e., under the kindly patronage of the upper classes, both bourgeois and landlord.
- (c) an ideological offensive against Marxism under cover of a drive against Stalinism, and the reduction of student organisations to ideological servility to the bourgeoisie through the "construction" of a Students' Congress which will "keep all politics out"—except Gandhian superstition and utopian revivalism.

More immediately, the Constructive Program is designed to prepare the ground for the coming surrender-settlement with British Imperialism. It is not the first occasion

on which the Mahatma fled precipitate before a mass offensive on the imperialist state, to bury himself ostensibly in social uplift and religious regeneration. At least one previous public performance has history been afforded of this identical stage-trick. Especially after the calling off of the struggle of the earlier thirties did the Mahatma appear to vanish from the political scene, under the pretext of devoting himself entirely to the cause of the Harijans. What he actually achieved every Indian in his 'teens already knows: the thwarting of the mass struggle and the preparation, step by step, of the Congress for eventual cooly-service in behalf of British Imperialism. The objective is no different on this occasion. While the Tatas, Birlas and Kasturbhais employ the aid of imperialist capital and technique in the more intensive exploitation of the masses, while the Munshis and the Rajagopalachariars employ the imperialist police to shoot down striking workers and bludgeon rebellious peasants, and throw militant fighters against imperialism into imperialist jails with the help of the imperialist penal code, the Mahatma will be pacifying the masses and shepherding them along the "constructive" road to swaraj—building "swaraj" within the imperialist system! The vision is almost idyllic. The reality reeks of rank insidious treachery.

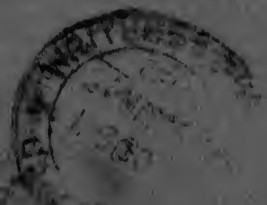
The Constructive Program aims to sabotage the anti-imperialist mass struggle now and for good.

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tance. These latter help us to decipher the real character of charkha politics. The other items in the Thirteen Point Program are not of much significance—prohibition, scavenging, kindergarten literacy, chivalry towards women and rashtra bhasha. These are the personal virtues we are adjured to cultivate. We are not much enamoured of them. We think more satisfying canons of conduct are still available for us in the good old homilies of Socrates, the Buddha, Confucius and Christ.

### Charkha and Gram Udyog

It is not possible to foist a program on the masses which does not in some way assuage a fundamental mass urge. If, therefore, the peasantry of our country have in the past extended a welcome to the Constructive Program, the explanation of this must be found in their conditions of existence.

British Imperialism has not only destroyed the balance of their little village economic structures and subjected them to cruel exploitation through rent-exaction and direct and indirect taxation. It has dragged the peasantry into the coils of the world market and subordinated them to its vicissitudes. Driving his primitive plough on his shrinking strip of land, the Indian peasant comes directly up against all the mechanised efficiency of the foreign capitalist farm. His prices are governed by world prices. This not only depresses his standard of living, but makes it fluctuate as wildly as a seismograph in an earthquake.

It is on this predicament of the peasantry that Gandhi has closed in with his charkha and gram udyog program. He seeks to counterpose once more the self-sufficient pro-

ductive frame-work of the ancient village community to the all-pervasiveness of the world economy. He seeks to balance the instability of primitive agricultural production with the wooden prop of the charkha and other village handicraft.

Unfortunately, it is not imperialism alone that subordinates peasant production to the needs of the world market. Native machine industry has stepped in to consolidate the process. It is true that the native bourgeoisie aspire to shield themselves behind a high tariff wall. But that is essentially a shield—a device to ward off the unfavourable repercussions of production for the world market. Furthermore, it is not imperialism alone that exploits the peasantry. The native bourgeoisie have long ago matured in that act of ravishment. The internal market (i.e. largely the peasant consumer-population) is a great source of hope for the Tatas, Birlas, Kasturbhais and their kin—especially when relieved from the embarrassment of world competition. The charkha and the gram udyog immediately rush up against the electric power-looms of Ahmedabad and the giant blast-furnaces of Tatanagar. In such an encounter there can be no doubt on whose side the odds lie.

Thus not only is the charkha and gram udyog program reactionary in its aspiration to resuscitate the primitive village community with its mediaeval standards of life. It is sterile in that it sets out to match primitive handicraft with machine industry in conditions of capitalist competition. It possesses the rare distinction of being both reactionary and utopian.



The strategy of reformism is pressure strategy. Violence, or overthrow strategy, is the strategy of revolution. Whether for pressure or for overthrow the mass struggle is necessary. But should the mass struggle develop along violent lines (i.e., should it direct itself towards the overthrow of the state), the collapse of the imperialist state will be accompanied by the collapse of the property forms it maintained—the native bourgeoisie being too weak to maintain their property either against imperialism or against the masses. The mass struggle must, therefore, be forced into the straightjacket of non-violence, so that bourgeois property be maintained. Herein lies the basic contradiction, the double-faced character of non-violence. It is clothed with revolutionary phraseology and purports to save the masses from imperialism. But it actually serves counter-revolutionary purposes, for it dams and deflects the mass struggle, and saves imperialism from the masses.

### SABOTEUR STRATEGY

The mass struggle that began in August '42, despite nearly a quarter of a century of preaching on the part of the Mahatma, was openly and quite unashamedly a *violent* struggle. The masses, at the very outset of the struggle, sloughed off the straightjacket of non-violence in which the bourgeoisie had sought to imprison them. They thereby demonstrated to the world the scant esteem in which non-violence was held by them. That was their way of asserting that their road to the overthrow of the imperialist state was the road of violence, of class struggle, of revolution.

Who need wonder at the panic of the native bourgeoisie who quite early deserted the struggle and attempted to stop it, and of the Mahatma who today denounces it and disclaims all responsibility for it? Never again will they attempt to use the mass struggle to browbeat imperialism—not if they can help it. The Mahatma, therefore, puts forward his Constructive Program *not* as a preparation for civil disobedience, but “*as an alternative road to swaraj*.”\* So important is this “alternative road”, that he threatened to fast if his disciples did not accept it. So important is it, that behind its immense fire-power has been also brought up the heavy artillery of the Rs. 1½ crores Kasturba Fund (more social service!). To sabotage the revolutionary mass movement from *without* by forcing on it once again the straight-jacket of non-violence which it had decisively rejected—that is the strategy of the Constructive Program.

But the straightjacket will stay on only so long as the masses do not enter the arena of direct struggle. Hence

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\* There are those who say they have accepted the Constructive Program because they regard it as the sole means (within prevalent conditions of imperialist repression) of restoring the brutally battered morale of the masses and thus of preparing for the next wave of mass struggle. It is not for us to point out that to entertain this belief is to doubt the veracity of a leader who proclaims truth as his most important weapon against imperialism. The Mahatma has explicitly repudiated even the thought of it. It is not merely that we believe him here. It is impossible for us to conceive how an overtly anti-struggle program, demonstrably reactionary in content, can either revive the morale of masses frustrated in open struggle, or prepare them for the struggles of the future. The task of reviving the masses for further struggle is the task of leading them along the road of their limited and most immediate demands and thus of helping them in the consolidation of their ranks.

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୨୫/୫/୫୫



স্বাধীন সেবাদল

স্বাধীন সেবাদল

স্বাধীন সেবাদল

স্বাধীন সেবাদল

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বঙ্গীয় স্বাধীনতা  
সংগঠন

নাম.....

ঠিকানা.....

স্বাক্ষর.....

তারিখ.....

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पुस्तक मेनु/मल

सं. २२२१३

विवरण.....

पत्र.....

म.....

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বঙ্গীয় শেখ মুজিব

নাম: ৪২৩ নং ১৯৫৩

প্রকাশিত: ১৯৫৩

কলকাতা: ১৯৫৩

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REFERENCE TO PREVIOUS CORRES-  
PONDENCE.

REFERENCE TO SUBSEQUENT CORRES-  
PONDENCE.